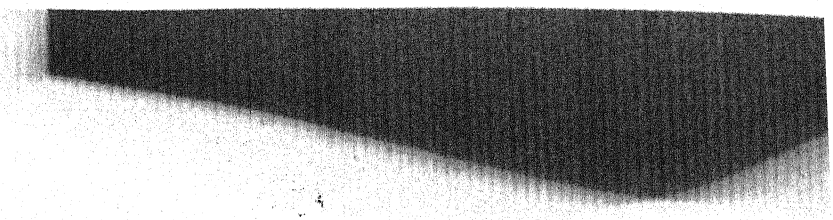
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INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS

VOL. XVII

SEVENTEENTH MEETING HELD AT BARODA

December 1940



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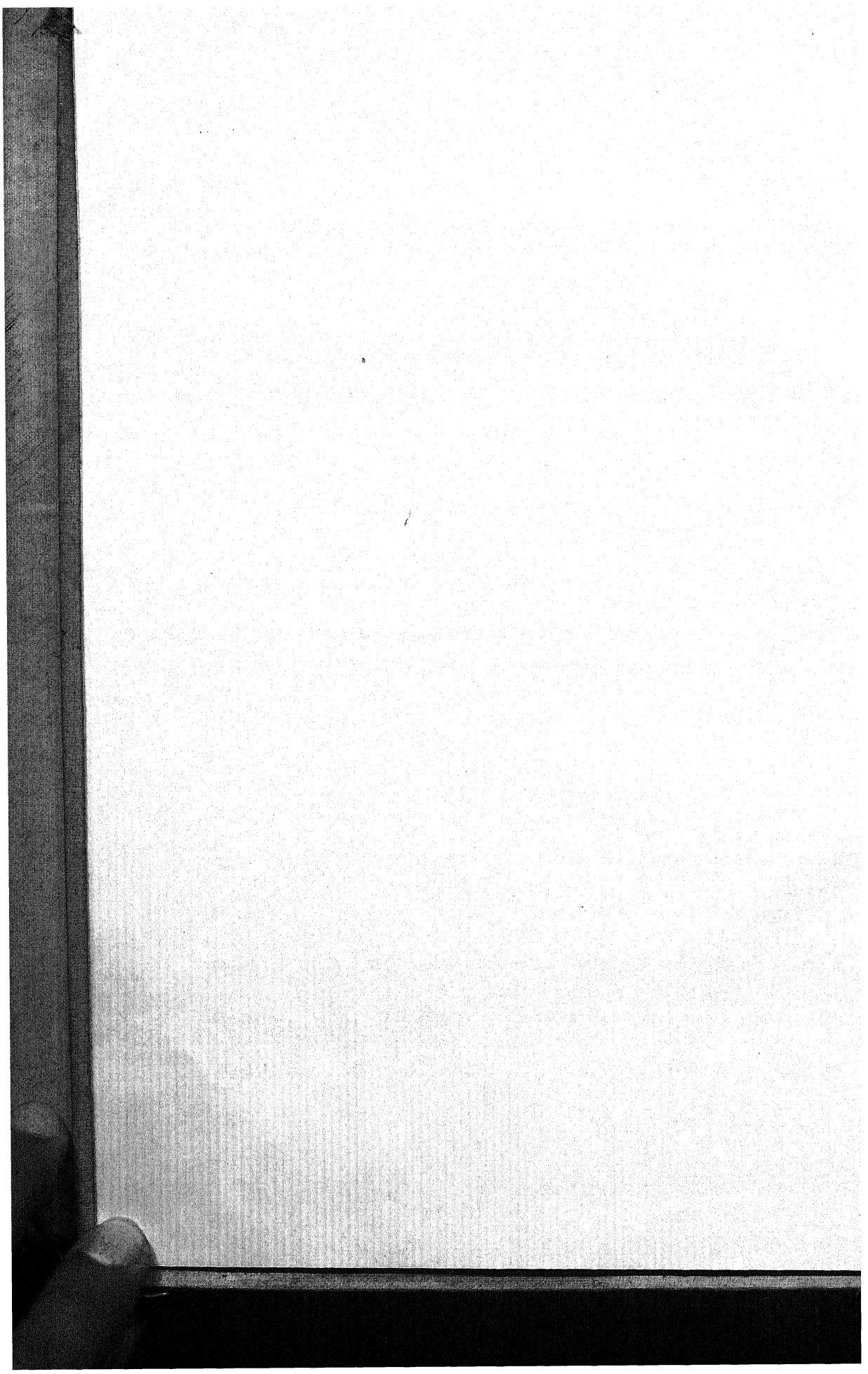
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PART I.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PUBLIC MEETING OF THE SEVENTEENTH SESSION OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION
Seventeenth Session, Baroda, 21st December 1940.



Seated from L. to R.—Srimati Kamalabai Kibe (Indore); Dr. G. L. Chopra (Lahore); Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan (Allahabad); Sir J. N. Sarkar (Calcutta); Sir V. T. Krishnamachari (Baroda); Dr. S. N. Sen (Secy.); Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. K. Aiyangar (Madras); Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdul Ali (Calcutta); Mr. B. B. Chakrabarty (Calcutta); Dr. B. S. Baliga (Madras);

Standing L. to R. (1st Row).—General N. G. Shinde (Baroda); Mr. R. V. Poduval (Travancore); Mr. Mohamad Sadullah (Lahore); Mr. Chandulal Mansukhram Vyas (Rajpipla); Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu (Jodhpur); Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan (Travancore); Mr. M. C. Trivedi (Poona); Dr. M.A. Chaghtai (Poona); Mr. N. M. Deshmukh (Gwalior); Dr. Prakash Chandra (Gwalior); Dr. K. K. (Basu Bhagalpur); Mr. S. A. Shere (Patna); Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari (Madras); Dr. H.C. Roychowdhury (Calcutta); Dr. A. P. Das Gupta (Calcutta); Mr. P. Acharya (Mayurbhanj); Dr. H. N. Sinha (Nagpur); Dr. H. Shastri (Baroda);

Standing L. to R. (2nd Row).—Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (Madras); Dr. R.C. Majumdar (Dacca); Mr. S. M. Jaffar (Peshawar); Dr. K. K. Datta (Patna); Mr. K. P. Mitra (Monghyr); Mr. D. R. Bhandari (Delhi); Mr. J. C. Taluqdar (Agra); Mr. M. L. Roychowdhury (Bhagalpur); Sardar S. N. Banerjee (Patiala); Mr. H. S. Askari (Patna); Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar (Allahabad); Mr. B. V. Desai (Baroda); Mr. V.S. Wakaskar (Baroda); Dr. A.L. Srivastava (Bikaneer); Mr. Y. K. Deshpande (Berar); Sardar Ganda Singh (Amritsar); Dr. H.R. Gupta (Lahore); Mr. R. N. Nagar (Lucknow); Dr. N. K. Sinha (Calcutta); Dr. A. G. Pawar (Kolhapur); Mr. S. V. Puntambaker (Benares); Mr. D. V. Potdar (Poona); Mr. B.N. Banerjee (I. R. D.); Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai (Poona); Mr. R. K. Ranadive (Baroda); Mr. A. H. Khan (Junagadh);

Standing L. to R. (3rd Row).—Mr. A. M. Siddiqui (Hyderabad); Mr. W. Yumjao Singh (Manipur); Dr. Dwarkanath Ghosh (Baroda); Mr. S. V. Mukerjea (Baroda); Major H. K. Percy-Smith (Rawalpindi); Mr. S. Ghose (I. R. D.); Mr. Y. M. Kale (Buldana); Dr. B. A. Saletore (Ahmedabad); Mr. T. K. Sahani (Bhavnagar); Mr. D. N. Banerjee (Dacca); Mr. M. R. Majumdar (Baroda); Mr. C. V. Joshi (Local Secy.); Mr. K. H. Kamdar (Baroda); Dr. N. L. Chatterjee (Lucknow); Mr. V. R. Talvalkar (Baroda); R. B. Dr. S. K. Bhuyan (Gauhati); Mr. S. S. Bhalla (I. R. D.).

Proceedings of the Public meeting of the seventeenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held in the Baroda College Hall, Baroda, on the 21st December 1940.

The public meeting of the seventeenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held in the Baroda College Hall, Baroda, on the 21st December 1940. In the unavoidable absence of Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai, K.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., the Honourable Member in Charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands and *Ex-Officio* President of the Commission, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., Honorary D. Litt., the senior member of the Commission presided over the meeting.

The following members were present :—

1. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., Hony. D.Litt.
2. Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad, Khan, M.A., Litt.D.
3. Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Hony. Ph. D., M.R.A.S.
4. Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab. (Also represented the Government of the Punjab.)
5. Mr. B. B. Chakrabarti, B.A., B.L., Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal.
6. Dr. B. S. Baliga, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Curator, Madras Record Office.
7. Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A., F.R.S.L. (Additional Member).
8. Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.), Keeper of the Records of the Government of India (*Secretary*).

Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J., M.A., Professor of History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, and a member of the Commission was absent as he had not returned to India from Spain. Lt. Col. H. Bullock, I.A., Deputy Judge Advocate General North-Western Circuit, Headquarters, Northern Command, Rawalpindi, Additional Member, was also absent on account of his military duties in connection with the war.

Rao Bahadur Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, K. C. I. E., the Dewan of Baroda having arrived at the College premises at 10-30 a.m. the members and co-opted members of the Commission were introduced to him by the Chairman. A group photograph was then taken after which the members walked in procession into the College Hall. They having taken their seats, the Chairman read out his address.

Speech of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Chairman.

DIWAN SAHIB, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

In the unfortunate absence of our *ex-officio* President, Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai I have to preside over this session of our Records Commission. The Commission meets in Baroda for the first time, but it meets under the shadow of a great calamity. His Highness Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad, after filling the Indian world with his fame for half a century left us only a short time ago, in the fulness of years and honour. His political foresight, administrative skill, tireless activity, firmness of character

and royal gift of choosing the ablest instruments, had marked out for him a place all by itself in the estimation of Asia and Europe alike. We, as students of history are more concerned with his liberal and yet highly judicious patronage of learning and encouragement of every form of beneficent activity at home and abroad, with a most rare catholicity of spirit. His young successor, Maharajah Partap Singh Gaekwad, at the commencement of what we pray may be his equally long and prosperous reign, when engaged in various new undertakings for the good of his subjects and the promotion of art letters and industry, has been afflicted with two severe bereavements in the course of the last four weeks. This Commission begs to offer him our respectful condolence on his successive sad losses.

There could be no more worthy Indian State than Baroda for the meeting of the Commission. This State was the first to join our sessions in its early days. It has an organised Records Department under officers, active and eager to learn, among whom I am glad to see our old friend, Mr. R. K. Ranadive, M.A., as our *Mehmandar* today. Above all, the Baroda State has set an example to other States and even to many a British Indian Province by the vigorous publication of its historical records in excellent scholarly editions. The records in the Marathi language that it has published, clearly arranged, with English summaries and notes, have already filled five volumes. Its historical documents in the English language have been issued in five volumes under the careful and learned supervision of recognised authorities like Father Gense and Mr. Banaji. A still wider circle of scholars, this state has laid under deep obligation by its publication of the Sayaji Rao Gaekwad Oriental Series, of which many works of the highest value, both on the Sanskrit and Persian sides, together with most useful translations of some of them, have been printed under the learned care and persistent energy of Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya, who has thus rightly extended the reputation for erudition of the front rank which his own writings on Indian iconography and similar subjects had won for him. Above all Baroda City has been a centre of the brightest light in the fields of intellectual activity, the cultivation of the fine arts and elevation of the general cultural level, no less than in that of industrial and economic uplift and the adoption of the modern progressive spirit. We are happy in being the guests of such a Government and such a people.

The Indian Historical Records Commission has now completed 21 years of its existence and expanded and developed on new lines in the course of its evolution. Its members have become practised in the art of hunting for and utilising records with success. They have made solid contributions to the history of India on the sure basis of newly discovered records, and by the still more difficult art of interpreting known documents, in the light of fuller knowledge and a new outlook. Above all, the holding of our annual sessions in different provinces and States has brought together scholars and archivists from all parts of our vast country and made them, I may claim, a band of brothers, united in the search of truth about India's past life and ready to help each other by the exchange of their individual knowledge and local experience, pooling their resources together at the shrine of the Historic Muse. The knowledge of the dark alleys of Indian record-hunting and of the differences of local conditions which this Commission has acquired by this time, is of supreme importance and will prove most helpful in any plan for the future reorganisation of the Indian Historical Records Commission that may be contemplated.

I now invite your Excellency as the Maharajah's representative, to open our present session.



H. H. Maharaja Pratapsingh Gaekwar Sena Khaskhel, Samsher Bahadur.

215 (*a*)

Speech of Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Dewan of Baroda.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has explained to you why His Highness is unable to come here to-day to open this session. I have been asked by him to read out the speech which he has prepared for opening this session. I now proceed to do so.

Inaugural speech of His Highness Maharaja Pratapsingh Gaekwar Sena Khaskhel Samsher Bahadur, Baroda.

MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It gives me sincere pleasure to extend a most cordial welcome to the members of the Records Commission.

It is not without trepidation that I, an amateur in the field, venture to make a few remarks before a body of learned historians.

Looking at the list of places at which you have so far met, I find that this is the first time you are holding your session in Gujerat. I hope that your deliberations here will give a much needed stimulus to research in the history of this part of India.

The history of Gujerat has not received the attention which the history of other parts of India has. To mention one example. Much valuable work has been done by European and Indian scholars in Maratha history. Grant Duff, Ranade, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Rajwade, Parasnis, Khare and Sardesai have laboured assiduously in that field. Your Commission have made available to the public the records in the Peshwa's Daftar. There is thus available abundant original material for the study of Maratha history. With Gujerat, however, the position is different.

Some work on its mediæval history has been done by Forbes. The authors of Mirat-i-Ahmadi (a portion of which has been translated into English in our Oriental Series) and Mirat-i-Sikandari have thrown valuable light on the Muslim period. But a good deal still remains to be done and many an unexplored region in the history of Gujerat still requires considerable spade work.

This province has a rich history. It has seen the rise and fall of great dynasties. It was under the sway, first of the Mauryas and the Kshatrapas and later of the Guptas, the Valabhis, the Chavadas and the Solankis. At the end of the thirteenth century the Muslims conquered it, and Gujerat was one of the most important provinces of the Mughals. With the decay of the Mughal Empire were set in motion the forces that have produced the map of the country as it now is. The earlier dynasties had developed a high civilisation. The archæological remains, which we find, bear testimony to the part which they played in the past history of India. The monuments at Dabhoi, Champaner, Modhera, Ahmedabad and Patan, the old capital of Gujerat (where recent excavations are yielding interesting results), remind us of the past greatness of the Gujerat rulers. I hope in the midst of your strenuous labours here, you will be able to find time to visit some of these monuments.

More fascinating still is the cultural history of this period—the history of the literary and religious movements which have left their mark on modern Gujerat. The manuscript libraries in Ahmedabad, Patan and other places contain material of the highest value for such studies. Recently, the Gaekwad's Oriental Series issued a list of the important manuscripts, mainly Jain in origin, in the libraries at

Patan. These works constitute a storehouse of information relating to Jain culture and civilisation and to social institutions in Gujerat. These and other fields await trained workers.

As far as the record office of my State is concerned, it contains records dating from 1724. Some of these have been selected and published in five volumes, and the sixth volume is expected to be out very soon. Father Gense and Mr. Banaji have also published important documents bearing on the history of the Gaekwads. In 1928, in accordance with the recommendations of your Commission, the Baroda Record Office was inspected by Prof. Rawlinson, and the suggestions made by him have been carried out by my Government. Our Record Office is accessible to all genuine research students.

An exhibition of historical manuscripts is an adjunct of the annual meeting of this Commission. We have attempted therefore to organise one in which we have kept together such manuscripts, paintings, inscriptions, etc., as we have been able to collect. I am afraid it cannot compare favourably with previous exhibitions held under your auspices : such as it is, I invite all of you to visit it. I should like here to thank the Provinces and States and the research institutes and private gentlemen who have generously sent us exhibits.

In India, as elsewhere, we are on the eve of momentous changes. The study of history would have no meaning and would be barren and futile if the knowledge of the past had no significance for the present and was no guide for the future. We must above all else emphasise the central fact of India's long history that there is a distinct type of thought and life in India which has been enduring through the centuries to which the different races and religions in the country have made their contribution and in which all of them find common ground.

I wish you a most successful session.

Speech of Dr. S. N. Sen, Secretary.

NEKNAMDAR DEWAN SAHEB, MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has already explained under what unfortunate and unforeseen circumstances His Highness could not attend this function. The Honourable Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai expected to be able to join us until day before yesterday when it was suddenly discovered that one of his daughters badly and immediately needed a surgical operation and he had to take her to Lahore. None is more sorry than Sir Girja Shanker for his failure to be in our midst this morning. He has asked me to read the address that he prepared for this occasion and I proceed to do so.

Address of Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai, President.

It gives me great pleasure to welcome Your Highness to this, the seventeenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, and to thank you for kindly consenting not only to inaugurate it, but to let it meet in your Capital and to extend to all of us your bounteous hospitality. If I may say so, this is in conformity with the traditions of your house, and, in particular of your grandfather, whose enlightened interest in scholars and scholarship was a marked feature of his many-sided activities. We mourn his loss but salute in Your Highness a successor whose patronage of art will be no less generous, no less enlightened and no less abiding.



Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, K.C.I.E., Dewan of Baroda.

3(*a*)

History, it has been said, provides its own inspiration. There is a wealth and variety of appeal in its pageantry and its pathos : a note, if one may use a metaphor from the world of music, for every human ear. That is perhaps why the Greeks imagined a Muse to be its presiding deity, but the history that stirs their hearts, or shapes men's judgment of events, is the finished work of the historian—the result of unremitting study, of profound reflection and, ultimately, of an imaginative recreation of the past. Divorced from fact, it would be no other than artistic fiction : an effort of fancy, rich, if you will, in the appeal of pure art but without the foundation of factual truth. It is in the discovery and testing of that truth that records play a vital part. Our Commission is designed to discover, to collect, to preserve records of historic importance to India, to catalogue, collate and edit them ; in brief, to make them available for the use of students of history. The task is not an easy one. The antiquity and vicissitudes of India's history, her size, her climate, the comparative past neglect of records as a source of history have combined to produce a mixed harvest, difficult to garner and difficult to handle. Without self-praise, the Commission can claim to have done much. But a great deal more remains to be done. We still stand on the fringe of a wide field. Government sources in British India have by no means been completely gleaned. Many Indian States, whose wealth in this kind of historical material should be great, still have to unfold their treasures. Even private individuals probably hold much that may prove of value to the common store.

Are we satisfied that our means are equal to our enterprise ? That is the practical question. Only an unreasoning optimist will answer ' Yes '. The deficiency is not so much in men and money, though we could do with more men trained in the technique of handling records, and an abundance of money has never been our lot so far. Our sense of disappointment, I had almost said frustration, comes from public indifference. Pride in India's past is a sincere element of our nationalism. Established historical truth which should be the foundation of that pride is taken for granted. I am not suggesting that there is no basis for a proud patriotism in India ; there is a great deal. But the main question is whether that base cannot be widened and made firmer. I have no doubt that it can, and through historical research, using that expression in a broad sense. The idea that such research must be left to a few professional votaries of history, that the ordinary citizen has neither the obligation of duty nor the incentive of useful service to the historian is wrong. Apart from the State, the individual has a contribution to make to rescuing and reconstructing the past ; the man of wealth by giving of his wealth, the man with control over the material of history by making that material available to those competent to make use of it, the ordinary citizen by an active appreciation of the labours of the skilled historian. It is on this view of our individual obligation that I venture to plead that the work of this Commission should be regarded not as the musty concern of odd specialists but as an essential part of patriotic endeavour to give India's renascence, which is a process of historical evolution, the unassailable security of a documented sequence.

NEKNAMDAR DEWAN SAHEB,

May I on behalf of the Commission and on my own behalf request you to convey our respectful and humble sympathy to His Highness and can we assure His Highness through you that we share his grief and mourn his losses ?

At this stage the Chairman invited Mr. R. K. Ranadive to read his paper entitled "The Navy of the Gaekwars". The reading of papers continued up to 12-30 a.m. when the meeting adjourned for lunch. After lunch the members visited the State Record Rooms, Oriental Institute, State Jewellery and the Central Library. The reading of papers was resumed at 4-30 p.m. and continued till 7-30 p.m. The Secretary thereafter thanked the Local Officer and others for the help they rendered to the Commission. The Local Officer returned thanks and said that the people of Baroda highly appreciated the honour the Commission had done them by holding the seventeenth session at Baroda. The public meeting was concluded with a vote of thanks to the chair moved by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

On the following morning at 9-30 a.m. the members' meeting was held in a big shamiana erected for the purpose in the compound of the Guest House under the chairmanship of Sir J. N. Sarkar. After lunch the members visited the Makarpura Palace, Kutubuddin Ahmed's tomb, Bhadra Fort, Gold and Silver guns, Kirti Mandir and the Historical Exhibition. On the 23rd the members visited Dabhoi and Bhilupur by special train and Champaner by motor buses.

A Historical Exhibition in this connection was organised by the Government of Baroda in the State Museum which was opened to the public from the 22nd to the 25th. The lists of exhibit will be found in Appendix K.

Names of Gentlemen appointed by the Government of India as co-opted Members for the Seventeenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Baroda on the 21st and 22nd December 1940.

**Did not attend the session.*

†Did not attend the public meeting.

N. B.—Representatives of the Universities, Nos. 60-71.

Representatives of the Provincial Governments, Nos. 72-78.

Representatives of the Indian States, Nos. 79-90.

*1. M. R. Ry. P. P. Subramanya Sastri Avargal, B.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras, and Curator, Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

*2. Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev, Raja Saheb of Tekkali, District Vizagapatam, Madras.

*3. Mr. V. D. Rao, M.A., LL.B., Lecturer in History, Ramnarain Ruia College, Bombay.

*4. Mr. D. V. Apte, B.A., Anand Ashram, Poona.

5. Dr. M. A. Chaghtai, M.A. Ph.D., Professor, Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona.

6. Professor D. V. Potdar, B.A., 180, Shanwar, Poona.

7. Mr. M. C. Trivedi, B.Sc. (Hons.), Manager, Government Photo Registry Office and Photographic Expert to Government, Poona.

8. Dr. N. K. Sinha, M. A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Calcutta University, 47-A, Ekdalia Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.

*9. Dr. P. C. Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., 125, Rashebehari Avenue, Calcutta.

10. Dr. A. P. Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Assistant Controller of Examinations, Calcutta University, Calcutta.

*11. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., 2/1, Lovelock Street, Calcutta.

12. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University.

*13. Dr. Bool Chand, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Political Science, Benares Hindu University, Benares.

14. Mr. R. N. Nagar, M.A., 14, Clyde Road, Lucknow.

*15. Professor Muhammad Habib, B.A. (Oxon.), Bar.-at-Law, Muslim University, Aligarh.

*16. Dr. S. K. Banerjee, M.A., L.T., Ph.D. (London), Reader, Lucknow University, Lucknow.

†17. Dr. Aziz Ahmad, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Aligarh University, Aligarh.

*18. Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Professor and Head of the Department of Indian History, Lucknow University, Lucknow.

*19. Mr. J. F. Bruce, M.A., Professor of History, Punjab University, Lahore.

*20. Mr. Sri Ram Sharma, M.A., Professor, D. A. V. College, Lahore.

21. Dr. H. R. Gupta, M.A., B.T., Ph.D., Professor, Forman Christian College, Lahore.

22. Major H. K. Percy-Smith, Honorary Librarian, Society of Geneologists, c/o Office of the Controller of Military Accounts, Northern Command, Rawalpindi.

23. Sardar Ganda Singh, M.A., Lecturer in Sikh History, Khalsa College, Amritsar.

*24. Lala Sita Ram Kohli, M.A., F.R. Hist. S., Principal, Government Intermediate College, Hoshiarpur, Punjab.

25. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Principal, D. J. College, Monghyr.

*26. Dr. Mohammad Nazim, M.A., Ph.D., Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Central Circle, Patna.

27. Dr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Ph. D., Professor of History, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.

28. Mr. S. A. Shere, M.A., Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.

29. Syed Hussain Askari, M.A., B.L., Professor, Patna College, Patna.

30. Mr. M. L. Roychaudhuri, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., Shastri, Professor, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.

*31. Mr. S. C. Goswami, I.S.O., Inspector of Schools, Assam.

*32. Mr. Gope R. Gur-Bax, B.A., 8, Amil Colony, Hyderabad-Sind.

33. Mr. Y. M. Kale, B.A., LL.B., Bauldana (Berar), C.P.

34. Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., Sharadashram Yeotmal, Berar, C.P.,

*35. Mr. H. K. Sherwani, M.A. (Oxon.), Bar.-at-Law, Department of History, Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan.

*36. Dr. M. Nizamuddin, Ph.D., Head of the Department of Persian, Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan.

*37. Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Editor, the Mysore Economic Journal, Siddicutta, Bangalore.

*38. Dr. K. N. V. Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (London), F.R. Hist. S., Superintendent, Intermediate College, Bangalore.

39. Mr. R. K. Ranadive, M.A., Dandia Bazar, Baroda.

40. Dr. J. M. Mehta, M.A. (Oxon.), Bar.-at-Law, Ph.D. (Lond.), Commissioner of Education, Baroda.

41. Dr. H. Sastri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt., Director of Archæology, Baroda.

42. General N. G. Shinde, Shiyabag, Baroda.

43. Professor C. V. Joshi, M.A., Rajdaftardar, Baroda.

44. Mr. V. S. Wakaskar, Near Maharaja Theatre, Baroda.

45. Mr. K. H. Kamdar, M.A., Professor of History, Baroda College, Baroda.

46. Dr. Dwarkanath Ghosh, M.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law, Professor of History and Economics, Baroda College, Baroda.

*47. Mr. V. A. Sundarrajan, M.A., Lecturer in History, Baroda College, Baroda.

48. Mr. M. R. Majumdar, M.A., LL.B., Lecturer in Gujerati, Baroda College, Baroda.

49. Mr. S. V. Mukerjea, Sar-Suba and Census Commissioner, Alkapuri, Baroda.

50. Mr. B. V. Desai, Secretary, Huzur Political Office, Baroda.

51. Mr. V. R. Talvalkar, (c/o Mr. R. K. Ranadive, M.A., Dandia Bazar, Baroda).

52. Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A., Director of Archæology, Travancore State, Trivandrum.

†53. Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A., Saraswati Niketan, Indore State, Indore.

54. Srimati Kamalabai Kibe, Indore.

*55. Mr. Vasudeo V. Thakur, M.A., History Officer, Foreign Department (History Office), Government of H. H. the Maharaja Holkar, Indore.

*56. Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D. Litt. (London), Professor of History, Mysore University and Director of Archæology, Mysore State.

*57. Mr. R. Raghavenda Rao, M.A., B.T., Lecturer in History, University of Mysore, Mysore.

58. Dr. Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt., Senior Professor of History, Dungar College, Bikaner.

*59. Cavaliero Panduranga Pissurlencar, Member, Lisbon Academy of Sciences and Curator Historical Records of Portuguese India, Nova Goa.

60. Principal T. K. Shahani, M.A., Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, Bombay University.

61. Mr. D. R. Bhandari, B.A. (Hons.), Reader in History, Ramjas College, Delhi.

62. Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archæology, Madras University, Madras.

63. Dr. Hemchandra Roy Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., Carmichæl Professor of Indian History, Calcutta University.

64. Mr. Abdul Majeed Siddiqi, M.A., LL.B., Senior Lecturer, History Department, Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan.

65. Mr. S. V. Puntambekar, M.A. (Oxon.), Bar.-at-Law, Head of the Department of History, Benares Hindu University.

66. Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar, M.A., Lecturer, Allahabad University.

67. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Head of the Department of Political Science, Dacca University.

68. Dr. N. L. Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt., Lecturer in History, Lucknow University.

69. Mr. J. C. Taluqdar, M.A., Prof. of History, St. John's College, Agra.

70. Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.

71. Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, Morris College, Nagpur.

72. Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, B.A., Kamshet, Poona.

73. Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. (London), D. Phil. (Giessen), Professor of History, S.L.D. Arts College, 53, Srimali Society, Ahmedabad.

74. Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Lecturer in History, Patna College. (Also represented the Patna University).

75. Mr. Mohammad Sadulla, M.A., Assistant to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore.

76. Rai Bahadur Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.), Special University Officer to the Government of Assam, Shillong.

77. Mr. S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (London), Khudadad Road, Peshawar.

*78. Mr. Ali Mohammad Rashidi, Karachi.

79. Mr. A. H. Khan, M.A., LL.B., Professor of History and Economics, Bahauddin College, Junagadh.

80. Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Superintendent, Archæological Department, Jodhpur.

81. Dr. A. G. Pawar, M.A., LLB., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law, Professor of History and Economics, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.

82. Mr. Chandulal Mansukhram Vyas, Naib Dewan, Rajpipla Darbar.

83. Sardar S. N. Banerjee, M.A., Professor of History, Mohindra College, Patiala.

84. Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, University of Travancore, Trivandrum (also University Representative).

85. Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S., F.R.A.I., Baripada, Mayurbhanj State.

*86. Lala Raja Kanwar, M.A., P.C.S. (Rtd.), Minister, Patna State, Balangir (*via* Sambalpur).

87. Dr. Prakash Chandra, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (Lond.), Professor of Civics and Political Science, Maharaja's College, Gwalior.

88. Mr. N. M. Deshmukh, M.A. (Cantab.), Bar.-at-Law, Deputy Inspector General of Education, Gwalior State.

*89. Sardar Thakore Natwarsinghji, P. Vansia, Sachin State.

90. Srijut W. Yumjao Singh, Superintendent, Manipur State Press, Manipur Assam.

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DE BOIGNE.

(By Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar C. I. E., Hony. D. Litt.)

In 1938 I read a paper on General De Boigne before this commission, in which new light from Persian and Marathi sources was thrown upon the hero's Indian career, up to the time of his entering the service of Sindhia's general Apa Khande Rao (1785). The part which he played in the battle of Tunga (1787) and during Mahadji Sindhia's clouded fortunes till the end of the year 1788, has been described in detail in the recently published third volume of my *Fall of the Mughal-Empire.* The general's victories at Patan, Merta and Lakheri are well-known, and though hitherto unexplored Persian and Marathi sources greatly modify the current accounts of these battles, I shall reserve a treatment of them for a different occasion. To day I shall confine myself to the personal history of De Boigne after 1788. In the narrative that follows, I have silently corrected the wrong dates in Parasnis's edition of the Hingane despatches and the Persian Ms. of Khair-ud-din's *Ibratnamah.*

On 7th August 1791, De Boigne was presented to the Emperor at Delhi, and orders were issued granting him jagirs worth twelve lakhs of Rupees a year in Bah, Pinhat, Jalesar and other parganahs (U. P.) for the support of the battalions of sepoys that he was bound to keep for Sindhia's service.

Early in January 1792, Mahadji Sindhia left Mewar and set out for Poona. De Boigne who was attached to Gopal Rao Raghunath's army, then marched from Mathura northwards, but after doing one day's route, to Vrindavan, he was compelled to make a long halt, because his troops were in arrears of pay. But Gopal Rao, from his headquarters near Barsana, sent some money, and called upon De Boigne to join him in the move on fort Kanod (30 miles west of Rewari) where another Maratha force under Lakhwa Dada was besieging the rebel Ismail Beg.

This fort contained the treasure, armament and family of Najaf Quli Khan, who died on the 23rd August 1791, after which event his two widows defied the summons of the Delhi Emperor to surrender it, and when a Maratha army laid siege to it, they called Mirza Ismail Beg, the leader of the Mughal freelances, in to defend it for them. Shah Alam II sent repeated orders to his Regent Mahadji Sindhia for punishing Ismail Beg as severely as he had done Ghulam Qadir Ruhela,— the two having been associates in the sack of Delhi palace in 1788. It was, therefore, necessary for Ismail Beg to find a protector with sufficient influence in Sindhia's darbar. The senior Begam of Najaf Quli, who was a very warlike and masculine lady, having been killed by a cannon shot, and then the younger Begam finding further resistance useless, met De Boigne, offered him the hand of her adopted daughter, Moti Begam, and entreated him to save Ismail Beg from the Emperor's vengeance after she had induced Ismail to vacate Kanod fort. Two regiments of De Boigne's troops under Perron had been detached to assist Gopal Rao's army at the siege, while De Boigne himself was some distance behind.

After receiving De Boigne's assurance, Ismail Beg issued from Kanod fort with only 20 horsemen and sought asylum in Perron's tents (16th April 1792). Gopal Rao demanded his surrender, but Perron referred the matter to De Boigne. Four days later that General arrived on the scene, and induced the garrison to vacate the fort after satisfaction of the arrears of their pay. The captive Mirza was lodged in Agra Fort, with some sepoys of De Boigne to watch over and protect him.

On this day (20th April) De Boigne was betrothed to Moti Begam, the reputed daughter of Najaf Quli Khan but really a foster child of the Khan's second wife. That it was a mere betrothal is clear from the use of the phrase *namzad shuda* used

in the Persian Record, though the Marathi despatches carelessly use the same word *lagna* (marriage) both on this occasion and on 21st January 1794, when the actual marriage of De Boigne with this girl was celebrated at Delhi.

After this De Boigne gave up the junior Begam of Najaf Quli Khan all her husband's property found in Kanod and also settled three villages near Palwal on her for her support. When he next came to Agra (c. 7 November 1793), he visited Mirza Ismail in the fort, paid him Rs. 600 for his expenses and spoke very kindly to him. But after the death of Mahadji Sindhia (on 12th February 1794), the vindictive Emperor wrote to the qiladar of Agra to put Mirza Ismail to death, because if he contrived to escape he would cause immense trouble to the Government. The qiladar on the receipt of this order, turned De Boigne's watchmen out of the fort.

After the fall of Kanod, De Boigne marched with Gopal Rao to Bahadurgarh (20 miles west of Delhi) for exacting tribute from its Baloch Nawab, Amir Ali Khan.

The great victory of Lakheri, which crushed the power of Holkar for the time being, was won on 1st June 1793. For his part in this victory, Sindhia granted to De Boigne jagirs yielding 27 lacks a year, situated in Firuzabad, Hatras, Palwal and other sub-divisions. The Emperor sent robes of honour and other gifts to this general and many of his officers. After this battle De Boigne remained for some time with Gopal Rao at Sultanpur (20 miles north-east of Kota), while Perron's brigade with Lakhwa Dada marched in pursuit of Holkar. In the following August the general was reported as about to come back to the Agra province in order to settle and administer his extensive fiefs, after doing which he intended to go to Lucknow where his wife, followers and property had been lodged under British protection. On his way back from Kota, De Boigne passed through Jaipur territory, in company with Daulatram Haldia the minister, interviewed Rajah Sawai Pratap Singh and promoted his interests by getting Sohna, Narnaul and some other mahals then held by Apa Khande Rao restored to the Jaipur Government, while Apa was compensated by Bahadurgarh, Hasangarh and five other mahals in the Rohtak district being given to him in exchange. The grateful Jaipur sovereign paid De Boigne a portion of the tribute due to Sindhia, and with this money the General satisfied his unpaid battalions (September).

Leaving Jaipur and settling Sohna in Mewat and Palwal on the way, De Boigne entered the Mathura district. Thence he passed into the Doab *via* Agra, established his administration in the Firuzabad sub-division and paid a visit to the great Kartik fair at Garhmukteshwar on 17th November.

Next month we find him severely unwell. He made a halt of 15 days at Khurja taking medicines. Then, by way of Subhya, he reached Delhi on 8th January 1794, paid a visit to Shah Nizamuddin (Mahadji's Court Agent) to condole with him for the death of his brother Mir Shaikh Muhammad (which had taken place on the 27th of December preceding), and was presented to the Emperor on the 13th. Eight days later (*i.e.*, on 21st January) he was married to Najaf Quli Khan's reputed daughter (dukhtar-i-khanda), and on the following day set out for pacifying his Mewat Jagirs. There the peasants had gathered together and captured the tax-collector of Hodal, because the General had assessed the rent of every mahal fifty per cent higher. The four guns which accompanied the general evidently cowed the rebels, and he passed on to make a *band-o-bast* of Firuzabad and Aligarh, where too the farmers had been creating a great row (February).

In this last month occurred the death of Mahadji Sindhia in far-off Poona, which tempted his Maratha officers to conspire against the authority of his successor Doulatrao Sindhia and set up for themselves. The malcontents tried to win over De Boigne and his formidable army ; but the loyal Savoyard openly avowed his adhesion to

Daulatrao (about June). On 7th July, Fremont died after a long illness and his brigade passed into the command of James Gardner.

In September we read of De Boigne visiting Jaipur again and negotiating through Rodoji Khawas for the payment of that year's tribute. It was paid in October, after which he marched into Alwar and laid a contribution of four lakhs on its Rajah Bakhtawar Singh. At the end of this month, De Boigne is again reported as having fallen ill, and detaching Perron with six battalions to accompany Gopal Rao Raghunath in his stead.

For the year 1795 we have no detailed information about this General's doings and early next year (February 1796) he quitted the service of Sindhia for returning to Europe. During this interval he lived in comparative ease and domestic bliss at Aligarh, leaving all active operations to his lieutenants.

We learn of two of De Boigne's associates from Persian Ms. sources. Michael Filoze, " a low-bred Neapolitan of worthless character, yet not without a certain address and cunning " as Herbert Compton describes him, came to Agra in June 1783 or a month earlier, in company with Johnson (both being then officers of Rene Madec's brigade which had been taken into pay by the Rana of Gohad). Their ostensible object was to hire an English force for the defence of the Rana whose fort of Gwalior was then besieged by Mahadji Sindhia. They met De Boigne who was then the guest of Major James Browne and after some consultation, passed over into the service of the imperial generalissimo Mirza Muhammad Shafi. After leading a precarious life in the service of Indian Chiefs, Filoze undeservedly won De Boigne's favour and was given the command of a battalion in his First Brigade (1790).

Another equally unworthy favourite of De Boigne was an English named Major Hunter*. Of him Faqir Khair-ud-din Allahabadi, the author of *Ibratnamah*, tells the following story :—

After the battle of Merta (20th September 1790) Najaf Quli Khan tried to detach De Boigne from the Maratha side, but his attempts failed. He was well acquainted with Major Hunter, who was greatly trusted by Col. De Boigne. Najaf Quli gained influence over Hunter by sending him many presents, and inviting him to his own tent entertained him all night with drink, music and dancing. Hunter brought many captains of De Boigne's battalions over to his side and made them sharers in his revelry and intimacy. Then Najaf Quli began to urge Hunter to murder De Boigne and assured him that if he could contrive the deed, Najaf Quli would undertake to pay him (Hunter) five lakhs of Rupees in cash and the chief command of his army from the Rajah of Jaipur.....Major Hunter agreed,.....saying, ' Colonel De Boigne often comes into my tent. It is not a difficult thing to kill him. '

On the eve of the day fixed for the murder of De Boigne, Major Hunter spent all the night in the tent of Najaf Quli, drinking and enjoying the songs and dances. An hour before dawn he returned to his own tent and imparted his secret plan to his chief confidents and associates. One of these men had the nobility of mind to go and inform De Boigne..... When Hunter at the usual time came to De boigne's table for his meal, the latter plied him very much with wine and when Hunter was quite tipsy asked him about the last night's incidents. Hunter perspired with shame and in his state of wine-bemusement, blurted out something of the night's talk.

So, De Boigne cast him out of his favour and placed him under arrest. The other conspirators took alarm at his face and conducted themselves properly afterwards (My Ms. *iii* 245).

*I cannot take this word to be the Persian copyist's error for *Songster*, who is quite well-own.

THE GOLD CHARTER OF THE FOUNDATION OF BRITISH POWER IN INDIA.

(By Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D.)

The East India Company came to India as a trading body, and their first factory was founded in Surat datable in 1609, which is about nine years after the Charter constituting the Company as a body of English merchants trading to the East Indies. Their position as a company of merchants proved to be precarious in the extreme because of a number of rival European Companies struggling for privileges of trade along with these. Of these the Dutch and the Portuguese were the most considerable rivals, the French not having established themselves securely enough to be considerable. The Dutch Company seem to have been far better placed and had very much more of the active sympathy of their government, and were able to exercise their influence with telling effect in the East. The jealousy of the Portuguese was certainly an important factor, although ultimately the Dutch proved to the British to be the more dangerous rival of the two to the English. In this condition of affairs it struck some of the officials of the Company that it would be better that they secured a place whereon to build a factory of their own and prosecute their trade with vigour unmolested by these enemies. The latter condition, in their actual position at the time, involved the countenance and the active support of the local authority, whatever that was. They were certainly on the look out and obtained their possession of such a locality on the Madras coast, on which came to be laid the foundation of the fort named Fort St. George, which became the first territorial possession of the English East Indian Company. In the course of a couple of centuries of growth, this East India Company was able to announce itself as the paramount power, and in the course of a further growth of a little over a century, the British stand forward as the imperial power controlling the destinies of India. The authority for this foundation rests upon a couple of gold charters, sometimes reckoned as three, which gave them the bit of land, their first territorial possession in India. The charters are stated to be respectively gold cowle given them by Dāmarla Venkaṭa, governor of the province of Wandiwash and the principal minister of the empire of Vijayanagar, "Chancellor of the Carnatic", as some of the Company's records call him. The second gold cowle is stated to be that granted by Venkaṭapatirāyalu, the emperor of Vijayanagar, whose minister Dāmarla Venkaṭa was. The third one is a cowle granted by the successor of this emperor, Emperor Śrīrangarāyalu again to the agents of the Company. None of these gold cowles is at present forthcoming. They have been lost one way or another, and our knowledge of the contents of these cowles is derived only from copies made on various occasions of these documents and in different places and by different people. Two of these were sent to Bidar in original "for inspection by the Mughal" as a letter of date 22nd March 1690 states it, and nothing more is heard of these. It would be interesting if we could really trace out what exactly the original privileges were, and how exactly they contributed to the growth of the British in India. We shall content ourselves with examining now the general privileges conferred upon the Company by these grants. These cowles sometimes had to be produced to prove the British title, and, one on such occasion, it was forwarded to Bengal where these seem to have been translated. The cowles were however sent over to Surat and were forwarded from there to Madras under orders of Sir John Child, the general Manager of the East India Company for India in 1693, when Śrī-Ranga's Cowle was lost in the sea. This is stated in a letter of the President and Council of Surat to the English Court in 1693. Even before that year, among the documents delivered by Governor Elihu Yale in 1687 to his successor William Gifford, only two

cowles are mentioned, Dāmarla Venkaṭapati's and Venkaṭapatirāyalu's and not emperor Śrīranga's. So by about 1693, may be somewhat earlier, all the gold originals were gone. Copies however seem to have been preserved.

Another calamity befell the Madras records on the fall of Madras in 1746, when the French carried off all their records. After the treaty in 1749, the old grants happened to be collected and returned. But such gold plates as were contained among the records are stated not to have been returned. The available records were then collected and translated by the Brahman Papiah the younger, who was translator from 1734 to 1746. The lists of such *firmans* and grants translated by Papiah were delivered by him, according to an entry in the Diary and Consultation book of Fort St. George dated 1749-50, incorporating the list of the documents then delivered by Papiah and despatched to Fort St. George dated 24th September 1750. Among these happen to be mentioned the first, the grant of Śrīrangarāyalu :—[1]

> " Rajah Sasanum or Royal License, Cut upon a Gold Leaf after the Shape of a Cadjan, Granted by Sriranga Royalloo, a Gentue Sovereign, to the English Company for the Perpetual Enjoyment of a Town called Chinapatam, in Consideration of the payment of the rent of Pagodas 1,200 per Annum into the Royal Treasury and also Empowering them to Coin Pagodas there with the Stamp of the three following Images, vizt., Chena Cassawa Suamy and the two Goddesses.
>
> The conditions of the Grant Strictly enjoin'd and recommend'd to take Care that all priviledges of Deva Doyam and Bramma Doyam may, for Ever, be Maintained or allowed in a regular manner and that the place, may always be Generally Esteemed and look'd upon as a Gentue Town.
>
> *N.B.*—Deva Doyam Signifies the Share of Gods or Deity's, which are all the Perquisites, Allowances, Dutys and other Gifts that have been or may be Appropriated for the Uses and Maintenance (*sic.*) of the Pagodas or Churches.
>
> Bramma Doyam, Signifies the Share of Brahmans, which are all the Perquisites, Allowances, Dutys and other Gifts that have been or may be Appropriated for the Maintenance of the Bramans or other Religious People.
>
> Dimmattee or Strengthening Commission from Damarla Moodu Venkatapa Naik son of Damrla Chenama Naik the Grand Visier of the aforesaid Sovereign and Lord General of Carnatica to the English Company for the Purpose beforementioned."

The extract above purports to be a copy of Śrīrangarāyalu's grant of which we have a number of copies available. But before proceeding to compare these grants, it would be well to note (1) that this summary of Papiah mentions the perpetual enjoyment of the town of Chinnapaṭam and on consideration of an annual payment of 1,200 pagodas ; (2) it empowers the Company the right of mintage to coin pagodas bearing the effigy of Channakēśavasvāmi and the two goddesses ; (3) the Dēvadāyam and Brahmadēyam have to be maintained as of old, and (4) the place has to be looked upon and maintained as a Hindu town. Then follows the note about the grant of Dāmarla Venkaṭa. Col. Love [2] finds fault with Papiah for such discrepancies as he finds between this summary and the actual contents of Śrīrangarāyalu's cowle. The first error that he finds is the place called Chinnapaṭam. He finds the mention of Chinnapaṭam is not likely to be stated as Śrīranga's cowle actually refers to the grant of Śrīrangarāyalpaṭam called after his own name.

[1] Records of Fort St. George ; Diary and Consultation Book of 1749-50, pp. 168-169.

[2] Vestigas of Old Madras I, 70 ff.

About this Channapatam itself, Col. Love is not quite clear. The actual position of Madras at the time was this. The locality did contain a town called Channapaṭam, a town founded in honour of Dāmarla Channamanāyaka, who was the Vijayanagar viceroy of this part, by his son Dāmarla Aiyappa, and this town must have been founded and in existence before 1639. Next adjacent to that was a village or hamlet called Madraspaaṭm. To the south of it was to be founded the town of Śrīrangarāyalpaṭṭinam, as emperor Śrīrangarāyal was anxious to perpetuate his name thereby. To the south of this was the site actually granted for the fort along with the waste ground which is called jackal mound, from the Tamil name *Narimēḍu*, which is quite regular, and is not from Telugu *Nāri Mēḍu*, as the second word is not Telugu, and I do not believe the Telugus call jackal *nāri*. The Telugu word for that is *nakka* as far as I could recollect. *Nāri* is not known in that connection. *Narimēḍu* is a Tamil compound, the two words constituting it being Tamil, and means literally jackal mound.

In regard to the 2nd point, Col. Love points out that the authentic grant of 1645 makes no mention of power to coin money. The next discrepancy that he finds is the town rent of 1,200 pagodas mentioned in the summary which was first fixed by Nawab Neknam Khan in 1672. He points out at the same time the contribution to be paid up to that time was only half the customs which was consolidated into an amount of 380 pagodas sometime about the year 1658. He accounts for these differences by concluding that Papiah's memory was at fault, and that he confused the details of other grants. He further notes that what is mentioned in the last paragraph as *Dimmattu*, and translated as the strengthening commisosin, was the original cowle granted by Dāmarla Venkaṭapatirāyalu, and mentions errors in the names of the father and the son as being due to successive copyists. Before proceeding any further about the matter, we shall have to note that neither the original plate nor any copy is available of Venkaṭapati Rāyalu's grant. We have a good copy of the grant of Dāmarla Venkaṭa, and the substance of what that grant contained is given in detail almost exactly in a letter that Greenhill wrote to the Company recommending the terms of the grant for acceptance. In all probability what Dāmarla Venkaṭa wrote would be the draft terms of the promised grant, which he in consultation with the king at the time may have offered, and when the royal grant was actually made, it certainly would be a copy of this ordinarily. It is just possible there may have been additions, and even slight alterations. In the absence of any positive knowledge from other sources of any such change, it would be safe to assume that Venkaṭapati Rāyalu's cowle was just a copy of the minister's draft. The errors referred to in the names it is difficult to understand. They seem to be more or less Col. Love's own creation. As it is put in the document quoted by him from the record itself, the name of the minister is given as Damarla Moodu Venkaṭappa Nāyak, son of Dāmarla Chennamanāyak, described as the grand visier of the aforesaid sovereign and the Lord General of the Carnatic. The actual name of the Nāyak was Muddu Venkaṭa or Venkaḷa, the terminal simply being an honorific. In Telugu Venkaṭappa takes on the alternative form Venkaḷappa, though it is not quite usually, the more usual form being Vengaḷappa. Dāmarla, we have explained elsewhere,[1] is the Teluguised name of Dāmal from which this Venkaṭa came. The name of his father was certainly Channamanāyaka, the word *Channa* meaning in Kanarese "beautiful", and that has been altogether misunderstood in various places by Col. Love by writing it badly, sometimes as Chenna, or perhaps more often China, and his trying to modify i into Chennai which undoubtedly is part of the name of the town, Chennaipaṭṭinam in Tamil, but it certainly is a Tamil variant of the original word Channa. This

[1] Journal of Indian History, Vol. XVIII, p. 20.

Channamanāyak is also popularly called Channappa. He was viceroy of these parts under emperor Venkaṭaparirāyal, who ruled at the commencement of the century, and three generations before the Venkaṭaparirāyalu whose minister his son was. On the same page and in note 2 Col. Love makes Chinna Cassawa Sevanumy into Chennai Kesava Swami, an excusable adaptation, but far from correct actually. It is Channa (beautiful literally there), Kēśava (one of the names given to Vishṇu because of his beautiful hair), and Svāmi, (which is an honorific meaning Lord or God). Except for the queer spelling in English arising out of the mispronouncing of the words, there is nothing irregular in the names at all. The draft of the promised charter was actually given by Muddu Venkaṭappa Nāyaka, son of Channamanāyaka, the whole family coming from the village Dāmal, Teluguised into Dāmarla. So that removes altogether one serious error fathered upon Papiah. He does not mention the draft here as he speaks of only the royal charters in the first paragraph. From the way that it is mentioned in the singular, we cannot say which royal charter it is, whether it is the royal charter issued by Venkaṭaparirāyalu, or the one issued by Śrīranga. But since he does mention here that it was granted by Śrīrangarāyal, we have to take it that he is referring here to the charter of Śrīranga, and not that of his predecessor Venkaṭa. Are we therefore to convict him with being befogged about the matter, and mixing up with a number of other documents? The original entry in the records wherefrom this is taken is a big list of various grants, *firmans* and *hookums* of various kinds coming down to perhaps 1741, it may be later, as it mentions Nawab Safdar Ali's grant and even sunnad from Nawab Nasir Jungh, and the endorsement says that these were received by peons from Fort St. David on the 21st September 1750. It would certainly not be improbable if Papiah took the whole series of royal charters as described in other grants, and given a summary of the whole, incorporating in the summary all the privileges enjoyed by the Company and founded on authority. It seems very probable that he did so. As regards his mention of Channapaṭam, Channapatam is certainly the oldest town. Dāmarla [1] Aiyappa's original letter of invitation begins with a reference to his founding a town in his father's name and asking if the Company would care to come and make a settlement there. Col. Love's remark that Śrīranga could hardly mention that place in 1645 arises from his own error of equating Channapaṭam with Śrīrangarayālpaṭṭinam. A careful scrutiny of Śrīranga's charter, good copy of which is available, would show that there was Channapaṭam to the south of which was the village called Madraspaṭam, further to the south of which was the hamlet where the fort was to be constructed and the place to be called Śrīrangarāyalpaṭṭinam in his honour; and to the south of which was the jackal mound which was also to be granted by him for the purpose of this fort. Therefore that criticism falls to the ground. The town rent, and the right of coining money remain. The right to coin money is found mentioned in Venkaṭaparirāyal's charter granted some years earlier than Śrīranga's. The town rent of 1,200 pagodas certainly must have been taken from a later document either Neknam Khan's or somebody else's. Śrīrangarāyalu's charter was the gold cowle, and it was not intended to supersede the previous charter; while the new charter may contain additional privileges, the privileges ordinarily granted would normally have to be assumed as of value. So the right to coin having been given in Venkaṭapatirāyalu's charter it need not be mentioned in Śrīrangarāyalu's cowle, and Papiah would be quite right in taking it that the right to coin money did continue.

The right to coin was a matter of great importance at the time as the uncertainties of exchange with European coinage, the most popular among which happened to be the so-called ryalls of eight, raised considerable difficulties. It certainly

[1] Journal of Indian History, Ch. XIX, p. 188 ff.

would have been better for internal trade to have country coinage, and hence, in a record of date 10th November 1656, a complaint is made that ryalls of eight and silver coins were generally in low esteem,[1] and the rate of exchange was no disadvantageous. So the anxiety of the Company to secure the power of coinage in gold of the local variety would be perfectly natural. The popular current coinage happened to be that of Vijayanagar, the standard coin being the gold pagoda of which the older type generally displays the figure of Vishṇu, either alone or with his two consorts. There were other varieties of this coinage. Even when Golkonda came into authority in this region, they maintained the same Vijayanagar coinage, which passed current. It would be nothing strange therefore if the Company continued that coinage. Papiah's statement however makes it a little more specific that the coin was to contain the images of Channakēśava and his two consorts. Channakēśava is certainly one form of Vishṇu, and the two consorts would normally be Śrī, the goddess of wealth, and Bhū or Bhūmi, the goddess of earth. These two usually form the pair of consorts. For Madras this would perhaps imply a local colour as the main temple was a temple to Channakēśavasvāmi, though as in several similar cases a temple to Channa Mallikēśvara, a Śiva image was also installed in the temple, as happens often, on a coordinate footing, so that the shrine would be a twin shrine, as it in fact happens to be now in its new location. Where exactly Papiah found this detail we do not know. It is just possible that it was found in a document which settled these details some time when the question came up. So Papiah's note makes that point clear.

The temple [2] unfortunately has had to shift its place and found new accommodation where it is at present. Comparatively recently documents were found in connection with this temple which throw some light upon its history. These documents date as early as in 1646 and 1648, both of them endowments to the temple in favour of Brahman called Nārāyaṇappaiyar, or more simply Nārāyaṇa Aiyar. The earlier document is by one *Naga Bathudu* in Telugu ; written in full it would mean Naga *Pattudu*, the latter word being the Telugu form of the Tamil *Pattan*, a general designation of the artisan class, the blacksmiths, goldsmiths, etc. The later document is a gift by one Bēri Timmaṇan. This latter claims to have built the Channakēśava temple and endowed it with *mānyam* or free gift land which he transferred to the Brahman for the purpose of the divine services to the temple. The somewhat enigmatic English name Capt. Moore is taken to be the modification of the official designation of the Portuguese Governor of San Thome, which title the Indian inhabitants of Madras sometimes applied to the agent of the Company in Madras itself. So the temple was constructed before the date 1648, the date of Timmaṇan's grant. The original temple however stood where the Madras High Court now stands, and, having suffered in the siege of Madras, was subsequently transferred to the present site by arrangement in 1677. So Papiah's reference to the coinage in the details given seem more or less to be founded on authority.

In regard to the third point, the question of the town rent of 1,200 pagodas per annum, it is no doubt true that, in that form specifically, it was set down in Neknam Khan's grant of 1672. It could not have been thought of without any previous connection at the time of Neknam Khan's grant. The probability seems to be that that was perhaps about the total estimated amount of revenue from the two or three items that have been separately mentioned, and Papiah perhaps sets it down at that estimated value, without making it a specifically mentioned item of the document. In the original document of Venkaṭapati there is mention of

[1] O. C. No. 2579 of 10th November 1656. Love I, 194
[2] *Ibid*, Vol. I, Ch. VI, pp. 92-96.

half the customs. There were other revenues also mentioned, and among the revenue items of Madraspaṭam of which one half was to be retained by the Company, the general estimate of 2,000 pagodas is given of which revenue of 2,000 pagodas, the Company would pay half or 1.000 pagodas, and there were revenues to be got from lands, etc., at Madraspaṭam[1]. So it seems clear that there is no adequate ground for regarding this summary of Papiah being particularly at fault. Papiah does not claim to be reproducing any document, but purports to give merely what, on the authority of the *rājaśāsanam* or royal writ, was the position of the Company. The question of *dēvadāyam* and *brahmadēyam* again is not in so many terms stated in either of the cowles. That is again matter that must have come up and a settlement arrived at, so that on the whole we may take it that Papiah's summary is—perhaps as his actual intention was—a summary statement of the position of the East India Company in relation to Madraspaṭam. That would be the position of the Company just about a century after the original grant of Dāmarla Venkata's document of 1639.

It now becomes clear that the English Company's title to the possession of Madras rests upon the two gold cowles of the three, of which we have at present only reliable copies. Of course, the conditions contained in the cowles received possibly explanatory additions and clarifying statement of intentions from time to time, so that just about a century after when a crisis in the position of Madras did come, the title of the Company actually amounted to what is stated in summary by Papiah. The two documents, the authentic copies of the cowles will be found in the English Factories in India, 1637-1641 and 1642, 1645, and the Journal of Indian History, volume XVIII, part 1.[2]

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[1] Greenhill's letter to the Company, dated October 25th, 1639 :—(O. C. 1718).

[2] The English Factories in India, 1637-1641, pp. 156-158.
Do. 1642-1645, pp. 305-306.
Journal of Indian History, Vol. XVIII, pt. 1, pp. 16-17 and 26.

The Amani System of Land Revenue Administration in Madras.

[By Dr. B. S. Baliga M.A., Ph.D.]

The idea of reviving and preserving such of the indigenous institutions as promised to prove beneficial to the country was by no means foreign to the genius of early British administration. A series of conspicuous instances can be adduced to illustrate this view: the panchayat system, the system of village watch and ward and of the collector-magistracy, the amani system, the farming system, the zamindari, the inirasi, the village lease and the ryotwar system. This paper, however, seeks to throw light only on the amani system, the system of collecting land revenue in kind as it prevailed in certain parts of the Madras Presidency, its advantages, its working and its disadvantages, which ultimately led to its abolition and supersession by the ryotwar system.

There can be little doubt that when the East India Company began to acquire territories, first the Jageer[1] (1763-1765) and the Northern Circars[2] (1765) and then the Carnatic[3] (1801), they followed the amani system wherever it was found to exist. In portions of the havalis of the Northern Circars,[4] and of the districts of Nellore,[5] Ganjam,[6] Guntur,[7] Chingleput,[8] Tinnevelly[9] and Tanjore,[10] it was often resorted to in the nunja (wet) lands and sometimes in the punja (dry) lands also. And that was because, in those early days of the Company's administration, it seemed to hold out a number of advantages to the state as well as to the ryots. In those days, which had succeeded almost half a century of warfare, unrest and depredations, the ryots had been

1. Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. VIII, pages 15—22.

2 Idem, pages 278-279.

3 Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. VIII, pages 56—61.

4 Circuit Committee Proceedings (Printed) 12th September 1784, pages 1, 11, 14, 23 and 33 *et seq.*

5 Nellore District Manual, 1873, pages 475—477.

6 Ganjam District Manual page 221, Circuit Committee Report on Ganjam (Printed), dated 25th April 1788, para. 621, *et seq.*

7 Board's Proceedings (B.P.), dated 25th January 1790, Nos. 9-10.
B. P. dated 15th February 1790, Nos. 3-4.
B. P. dated 18th February 1790, No. 7.
B. P. dated 21st January 1796, Nos. 10-11.

8 Chingleput district volume, 444, page 444.
Chingleput district volume, 454, page 55.
Chingleput district volume, 467, page 20.
Chingleput district volume, 3849, page 30.

9. B. P. dated 29th December 1803.
B. P. dated 3rd January 1804, No. 12.
B. P. dated 24th June 1805, Nos. 41-42.
B. P. dated 24th February 1806, Nos. 9-10.
Hodgeson's Report on Tinnevelly (Printed), 1807.
Tinnevelly district volume, 3568 (1808), page 289 *et seq.*

10 Board of Assumed Revenue for Tanjore (1792), Volume III, p. 111, *et seq.*
Report of the Tanjore Commission (Printed), 1799, pp. 2—5, 12, 19—21, 26 *et seq.*
B. P. dated 10th April 1800, Nos. 22-23.
B. P. dated 17th April 1800, No. 1.
B. P. dated 19th January 1801, Nos. 21-22.
B. P. dated 23rd May 1803, Nos. 40-41.
B. P. dated 26th May 1803, No. 35.

reduced to distress and large tracts of land left untilled and neglected. Where cultivation had been carried on the information of the real extent of it had been withheld from the Government under the gross connivance of the public officers. The zamindars and renters in the Northern Circars, the mirasidars, the puttackdars and other intermediaries between the state and the cultivators in the Central and Southern districts had, by collusion, bribery and intimidation, effectually withheld from the Government all information about the actual resources of the country and the condition of the cultivators.[1] First and foremost it was this vital information which the amani system seemed to furnish. Under that system it was supposed that the resources of the country could be ascertained through the aid of circar servants who inspected the crop at its growth, estimated the produce, and divided it, and in performing these duties came into intimate contact with the agricultural conditions of the country. It was likewise supposed that under that system the Government could always be sure of obtaining half or any other fixed proportion of the produce whether the crop was scanty or abundant.[2] Moreover, in those days to collect revenue in money was difficult when specie was scarce, when large exports of commodities and returns in money were unknown.[3] The same circumstance also relieved the ryots from the necessity of borrowing at extortionate rates of interest and from the dread of being called upon to pay the rent when the crop had entirely failed.[4] Indeed, in some districts where the crops were precarious, where cultivation was at the mercy of flood and drought, where artificial irrigation had not been perfected, where good and bad seasons came in quick succession, where the authority in power could fix the price of grain and prohibit importation or exportation, the security of the ryots in a great measure lay in the amani system in which they and the Government justly shared the risks.[5] What is more, the ryots had grown long accustomed to that system under the Hindu rulers and, wherever it had been replaced by the Muhammadan rulers, had been subjected to so many oppressions and exactions, so many irksome extra-demands for money over and above the stipulated jama, that they had been led to view the money rents, in whatever forms they were levied, always with suspicion,

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[1] Appendix 14 of the Fifth Report.
Report of the Tanjore Commissioner, 1799 (Printed) p. 12.
B. P. dated 10th April 1800, Nos. 22-23.
B. P. dated 14th April 1800, No. 8.
B. P. Volume 393, Harris's Report, dated 9th May 1804, para. 78.

[2] Gleig's Life of Munro, Vol. II (1831), page 132 *et seq.*

[3] Circuit Committee Proceedings, dated 12th September 1784 (Printed), page 1.
Circuit Committee, Report on Cassimcotta, dated 11th October 1784 (Printed), page 6.

[4] B. P. dated 6th July 1801, Nos. 40-41.
Gleig's Life of Munro (1831), Vol. II, pp. 132—35.
Coimbatore District Manual, pages 93—95.

[5] B. P. dated 14th July 1803, Nos. 29-30.
B. P. dated 15th August 1803, No. 63.
B. P. dated 2nd July 1810, Nos. 23—25.
B. P. dated 25th June 1810, Nos. 29—31.
B. P. dated 15th November 1819, No. 47.
B. P. dated 30th March 1820, Nos. 36-37.
B. P. dated 24th August 1820, Nos. 23-24.
Tanjore Commission Report, dated 7th May 1807, Nos. 9-10, para. 75, and 117—19.
Hodgeson's Report on Tinnevelly, 1807, pages 5-6.

and sometimes with hatred and fear.[1] This dual nature of the benefits which the amani system seemed to confer both on the state and on the ryots guaranteed its continuance until its efficacy was fully disproved by experience. But it is well that we do not anticipate the lessons of experience before learning the rudiments of the system itself as it worked in at least a few districts.

In Tanjore, where, on the abolition of the puttackdari system, the amani system was revived by the British in 1800 and continued till 1804, it worked as follows. Previous to the commencement of reaping and almost immediately before the grain was ripe the monigars (village headmen) and taluk peishkars (subordinate revenue officers) made a general estimate of the produce of the crops in the various villages by a close inspection of the state of the crop in each field. These estimates were scrutinised by the Tahsildars, modified or altered, if neecssary, and transmitted to the Collector's cutcherry. When the harvest was got in the accounts of the actual quantity of grain produced were likewise forwarded by the monigar to the Tahsildar and by the Tahsildar to the Collector. The estimated produce was then compared with the actual produce and, in the event of any material difference between the two, the ryots were held responsible for it. Out of the actual produce were first deducted the cooly swatantrams, which consisted of allowances to the men who reaped and threshed, to the women who planted and performed other labour, to the village cavalgar (watchman), conicoply (accountant), washerman and barber. These being in the nature of daily wages were issued on the threshing floor itself as soon as the grain was measured. Towards the evening, a set of labourers would bring in and heap the grain which they had reaped and threshed during the day. After 100 kalams were measured off from the heap the cooly swatantrams at a fixed rate would be taken from the remainder. This process would be repeated until the heap was exhausted. When the harvest of the village was completed the quantity thus stocked, clear of cooly-swatantrams, was regarded as the gross produce and an account of it was transmitted to the cutcherry to be recorded. From the gross produce were then deducted certain allowances as koil maniums (temple inams), cavalgars' allowances and swatantrams to the carpenters, smiths and measurers and the remainder was regarded as the net produce. In the nunja land the ryots' share, the kudivaram, fixed at 40 per cent of the net produce, and in the punja land at

[1] Circuit Committee Proceedings, 12th September 1784, p. 1.
Circuit Committee Report on Nuzud and Charmahal, dated 9th February, 1786 (Printed), page 4.
Circuit Committee Report on Cassimcotta, 11th October 1784, p. 6.
Hodgeson's Report on Tinnevelly, 1807, pages 10-11.
B. P. dated 11th February 1788, No. 14.
B. P. dated 22nd March 1790, No. 17.
B. P. dated 27th April 1797, No. 1.
B. P. dated 2nd July 1810, Nos. 23—25.
B. P. dated 17th September 1810, Nos. 37-38.
B. P. dated 9th April 1818, Nos. 38-39.
B. P. dated 15th November 1819, No. 47.
B. P. dated 30th March 1820, Nos. 36-37
B. P. dated 14th February 1788, Nos. 6-7.
B. P. dated 24th April 1797, Nos. 7-8.
B. P. dated 5th April 1810, Nos. 40-41.
B. P. dated 25th June 1810, Nos. 29—31.
B. P. dated 27th September 1810, No. 41.
B. P. dated 19th July 1819, Nos. 34-35.
B. P. dated 13th January 1820, Nos. 36-37.
B. P. dated 21st January 1828, Nos. 46-47

55 per cent. so that the circar's share, the melvaram, was fixed at 60 per cent. in the former and 45 per cent. in the latter. The Circar's share so derived was stored in public granaries under the supervision of village officers and sold by them as ordered by the Collector either to the ryots or to the merchants, whenever the market promised to be favourable.[1]

A system similar in essentials, but differing somewhat in details, was tried in Tinnevely in 1801—1807, in Nellore in 1825 and in parts of the Northern Circars from the time of their acquisition till about 1840. In Tinnevely, the nunja lands alone were managed under amani system, the melvaram being fixed at 50 per cent. while the punja lands were assessed at money rents. Here, of the two important crops, the car and the peshanum, the Circar share of the former was sold to the merchants, but, of the latter, two-fifths were forced, according to custom, on the ryots themselves at the prevailing market price.[2] In Nellore an elaborate system was employed for checking estimates. The estimates of the standing crops first taken by the parabutties (village headmen) were checked by Tahsildars, Muzumdars and peishkars, which again were verified by some respectable persons and others who waited at the huzur for employment. And if any doubt arose as to the accuracy of any of these three estimates the Collectors sent kapoos (village headmen) and karnams (village accountants) to check them again. The Circar share calculated at 40 per cent. on the mitta and maguny crops and 60 per cent. on the moolamoo crops was then valued and, wherever possible, forced on the ryots themselves.[3] In the Northern Circars the Amin personally went round the villages, inspected the karnam's accounts of the extent and probable value of produce and granted cowles to the ryots specifying their customary share. When the grain was fit for reaping, he reported the fact to the Foujdar who forthwith sent anchanadars or estimators to value the crops before they could perish or be concealed or sold. On receiving the anchanadar's accounts, the Amin took another account of the valuation from the ryots themselves, and, in case the two accounts did not agree, he employed a trustworthy person to make a third valuation. If this also differed from the previous accounts, he settled the difference at the mean value at which the ryots generally agreed and gave their written consent to him. The ryot's agreement and the three accounts he then sent to the Foujdar, who directed them to be entered in the Muzumdar's books and ordered the Amins to cut the crops. The Circar's

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1 B. P. dated 7th August 1800.
B. P. dated 15th November 1800.
B. P. dated 26th May 1803 No. 35.
B. P. dated 15th August 1803 No. 63.
B. P. dated 27th September 1804, Nos. 8-9.
B. P. dated 14th August 1800.
B. P. dated 15th January 1801, Nos. 1-2.
B. P. dated 30th May 1803, No. 4.
B. P. dated 7th May 1807, Nos. 9-10.
B. P. dated 19th January 1801, Nos. 21-22.

2 Hodgeson's Report on Tinnevelly, 1807, page 7.
Tinnevelly District Volume 1808, No. 3568, page 289.
Idem, 1809, No. 3585, page 29 *et seq.*
Idem, 1808, No. 3583, page 56.
Idem, 1809, No. 3570, page 256, para. 5.
B. P. dated 24th June 1805, Nos. 41-42, paras. 13—19.

3 Nellore District Volume, 1825, No. 3112, page 340, paras. 22—24.

share, which varied from half to two-thirds was then stored in public granaries and disposed of by the Amins.[1]

This system, which in theory seems to possess no serious drawbacks, was in actual practice found to be imbued with innumerable evils. A glance at its salient features would show that it demanded a big staff for performing the various periodical processes, a preliminary inspection of the crip on the ground, a second, third or even a fourth inspection by taluk and huzur officers, a special inspection at the time of harvest and division, storage and disposal of the grain. Leaving alone the taluk and huzur officers, it called for the aid of a number of Amins, a large number of monigars, peishkars, and anchanadars and a whole host of hircarrahs (messengers) and village watchmen. All this meant an extensive establishment which swelled the charges of collections.[2]

Nor was this large, expensive, imposing machinery controllable and proof against fraud and corruption. The Collectors often reported that this large staff of ill-paid subordinates could not be effectually controlled by a few district officers. The labour involved in supervising the details of their work was enormous and required most of the time and extraordinary exertions of the Collector and his Assistants. There was, in fact, no way by which this supervision could be relaxed or avoided, for even when it was enforced with honest zeal, there were innumerable ways by which the subordinate servants could resort to dishonest practices. Almost from the very beginning of the establishment of the amani system, the Board of Revenue and the Government were apprised of the frauds on the part of estimators, measurers and other Circar servants.[3] But these were at first regarded as small fry until in 1804 they were revealed in all their enormity by a Commission which was appointed to enquire into the abuses practised in Tanjore.[4] The Commission revealed a whole chain of frauds of a most daring magnitude extending from the Huzur to the village cutcherry. The Huzur officers pressed the Tahsildars, the Tahsildars, and the village officers pressed the mirasidars and the cultivators for illegal demands, and the result was, after much recrimination and mutual discussion, all combined to defraud the Circar of the just portion of its share of produce. By underestimating the crops, concealing them, and entering the fully assessed lands under the rent-free lands, within three years, in fasli 1211, 1212 and 1213 (*i.e.*, 1801—1803) the state was defrauded of over 12 lakhs of rupees.[5] Many an ingenious device was employed in disguise deceit until it became exceedingly difficult of detection and punishment. Want of space, however, forbids us to describe them. Suffice it to remark that corrupt practices in estimating, threshing, dividing, storing and selling the grain were

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1 Circuit Committee Proceedings, dated 12th September 1784, pp. 1, 11, 14, 33 *et seq*
Circuit Committee Report on Cassimcotta, dated 11th October 1784, pages 2, 6, 34 *et seq*.
B. P. dated 7th April 1788, Nos. 7-8.
B. P. dated 9th February 1789, Nos. 3-4.
B. P. dated 5th May 1794, Nos. 16-17.
B. P. dated 25th August 1794, Nos. 20-21.
B. P. dated 15th February 1790, Nos. 3-4.

2 Chingleput District Volume, 1809, No. 3570, page 256 *et seq*.
Tinnevelly District Volume, 1808, No. 3583, page 56 *et seq*.

3 2 B. P. dated 5th February 1789, Nos. 3-4.
B. P. dated 15th February 1790, Nos. 3-4.
B. P. dated 31st January 1804, No. 12.

4 B. P. dated 27th September 1804, Nos. 8-9.
B. P. dated 27th September 1804, Nos. 8-9, paras. 16—22, 33, 37, 65, 66, 71, 84, 85 of the Commissioner's Report.

frequently reported from Tinnevelly, Chingleput and other amani districts.[1] The system, indeed, not only defrauded the state but demoralised the entire revenue establishment.

These drawbacks of the amani system were grave enough, but graver than these were others of a different complexion. That system perpetuated constant interference of the Circar servants in the daily concerns of the ryots and thus provided many opportunities for oppressions and exactions. The Government was perfectly aware of this, but they could not relax this interference without foregoing a big slice of their revenue. They were indeed placed in a quandry in which it was difficult to decide whether to uphold or not to uphold this interference.[2] That system, again, in spite of this interference, in spite of the most detailed supervision of the Collectors, brought much loss to the state owing to wastage in storage and uncertainty in realising the proceeds of the sale of the Circar share of grain. Large arrears accumulated and necessitated the prosecution of a number of merchants in the courts of law.[3] That system indeed made the annual income of the state quite uncertain. What with the embezzlement of the Circar servants, with the thefts, with the wastage in storage and the difficulty in selling the public grain, and after having sold it, in realising in time the proceeds of the sales the Government could never be sure of any settled income. This inevitably made the balancing of the budget quite impossible, a very necessary consideration for adopting any revenue system in the modern period. And this it was which was more than anything else responsible for the increasing preference shown to the system of money rents, for the displacement of the amani system by the ryotwar system.

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1 Tinnevelly District Volume, 4364, page 278, paras. 35-36.
Chingleput District Volume, 1899, No. 467, page 20, paras. 2, 3, 7, 8.
B. P. dated 30th March 1820, Nos. 36-37.
B. P. dated 24th August 1820, Nos. 23-24.
B. P. dated 7th September 1820, Nos. 31-32.
B. P. dated 23rd October 1820, Nos. 27-28.
B. P. dated 2nd February 1837, Nos. 8-9.

2 B. P. dated 5th May 1794, Nos. 16-17.
B. P. dated 25th August 1794, Nos. 20-21.
B. P. dated 10th April 1800, Nos. 2-23.
B. P. dated 19th January 1801, Nos. 21-22.
B. P. dated 27th September 1804 Nos. 8-9.
B. P. dated 29th March 1804, Nos. 15-16.
B. P. dated 2nd April 1804, No. 5.
B. P. dated 30th April 1804, Nos. 36-37.
B. P. dated 31st May 1810, Nos. 31-32.
B. P. dated 15th November 1819, Nos. 4-7.
B. P. dated 30th March 1820, Nos. 36-37.
Tinnevelly District Volume, (1808), No. 3583, page 56.
Idem (1809), 3570, page 256.
Idem (1809), 3585, page 29.
Chingleput District Volume, (1819), No. 467, page 20.
Godavari District Volume, No. 913, page 667.
Nellore District Volume, No. 3112, page 340.
Tinnevelly District Volume, (1821-26), No. 4364, p. 278.

3 B. P. dated 14th February 1788, Nos. 5-7.
B. P. dated 5th May 1794, Nos. 16-17.
B. P. dated 16th October 1794, No. 9.
B. P. dated 14th January 1808, Nos. 27-28.
B. P. dated 2nd February 1837, Nos. 8-9.
Godavari District Volume, 1796, No. 916, page 112.
Tinnevelly District Volume, 1809, No. 3570, page 256.

Viewed from other angles also, the Amani system showed several undesirable features.. It called for the constant interference of the Circar for regulating the grain market, for arbitrarily fixing the price of grain and prohibiting importation so that the Circar share might be sold at an advantage.[1] Thus in Tinnevelly, the lateness of the season at which the peshanam settlement was concluded and the early arrival of the carr settlement left the ryots but a very short time, in which to get their portion of the produce disposed of, and their whole grain coming at once into the market caused a glut for a time which obliged them to sell it generally at a disadvantage. As soon however as the effects of this had ceased, the Circar granaries were thrown open and the grain sold to the people at a higher price than that obtained by the ryots, as by that time the Circar had all the grain of the country in its hands and could dictate prices to secure as much profit as possible. This necessity to convert "the character of the sovereign to that of the merchant,..... to monopolise the food of the people to secure its revenue" was highly distasteful to the British, inspired as they were, by the doctrine of *laissez fare* and accustomed to dislike state interference into matters which should be left to be managed by the people themselves.[2] And finally, it became increasingly clear in the light of experience, that under the amani system it was impossible to increase the resources of the country. For, so long as it made the Government a sure partner in the profits resulting from increased produce brought about by the improvements effected by the ryots it held out no encouragement to industry. "A district which in a strict sense is entirely managed by Amani must ever in my opinion be a poor country", observed one of the Collectors.[3] It fostered indolence and, worse than that, prompted the ryots deliberately to neglect cultivation and even to destroy the crops so that the Circar might under-estimate their lands.[4] The crop, we are told, was destroyed wholesale in the transplanting season either by overflowing the fields with water or keeping them dry; either by planting too near or too far from one another; or if these contrivances failed, by withholding water to the plants when they were half-grown.[5]

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[1]B. P. dated 5th May 1794, Nos. 16-17.
B. P. dated 26th June 1794, No. 8.
B. P. dated 25th August 1794, Nos. 20-21.
B. P. dated 13th October 1794, Nos. 11-12.
B. P. dated 16th October 1794, No. 9.
B. P. dated 10th April 1800, Nos. 22-23.
B. P. dated 31st May 1810, Nos. 31-32.
B. P. dated 15th November 1819, No. 47.
B. P. dated 3rd January 1828. Nos. 71-72.
Godavari District Volume (1796), No. 916, page 151.

[2]Tinnevelly District Volume (1808), No. 3583, page 56 *et seq.*
Tinnevelly District Volume (1809), No. 3570, page 256.
Idem (1809), No. 3585, p. 29.
Hodgeson's Report on Tinnevelly, 1807, page 19.
B. P. dated 27th September 1804, Nos. 8-9, para. 76 of Harris's Report.
B. P. dated 9th April 1818. Nos. 38-39.
B. P. dated 15th April 1819, No. 47.

[3]B. P. dated 5th May 1794, Nos. 16-17.

[4]B. P. dated 25th June 1830, Nos. 29-30.
B. P. dated 9th April 1818, Nos. 38-39.
B. P. dated 24th August 1820. Nos. 23-24.
Tinnevelly District Volume (1808), No. 3583, p. 56.
Idem (1809), No. 3570, p. 256.

[5]B. P. dated 21st January 1828, Nos. 46-47, paras. 30—35.

These serious objections gradually impelled the Government to discredit the amani system and ultimately to abandon it. Wherever that system showed its dangerous symptoms, it was displaced first by the village lease, and then by the ryotwar system. But this was no easy task. It had to be done in the teeth of much opposition from the people who viewed with alarm the disappearance of a system which had brought them specious and illegal benefits. The colossal frauds exposed by the Tanjore Commission in 1804, and detected also subsequently, compelled the Government to issue a proclamation in 1810 declaring in unmistakable terms that "the practice which has of late prevailed in Tanjore of the amani division of the crop with the mirasidars who refused to rent their lands is hereby abolished and is not, on any account to be resorted to."[1] Notwithstanding this proclamation and the endeavours of the Collectors of Tanjore and other districts to displace it by a system of money rents the amani system took "an unconscionable time adying." In 1837 we find that it partially prevailed in Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Masulipatam, Guntur, Chingleput, Coimbatore, Tanjore and Trichinopoly In all these districts, however, it had been vastly reduced in extent and was confined only to a few villages.[2] In 1839 the Court of Directors finally rang its knell; they ordered its abolition and substitution by systems of money rents.[3] From this time onwards very few references to the amani system are to be found in the records. It must be remembered that the introduction of the system of modern survey and settlement in 1855 left it no chance of survival in any of the districts directly administered by the British in the Madras Presidency.

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[1] B. P. dated 17th September 1810, Nos. 37-38.
B. P. dated 20th September 1810, No. 6.
B. P. dated 20th September 1810, No. 7.
B. P. dated 11th October 1810, No. 6.
B. P. dated 27th September 1810, No. 41.
B. P. dated 21st January 1828, Nos. 46-47.

[2] B. P. dated 2nd February 1837, Nos. 8-9.
B. P. dated 2nd February 1837, No. 10.
B. P. dated 9th March 1837, Nos. 10—14.
B. P. dated 27th March 1837, Nos. 41—44.
B. P. dated 30th March 1837, Nos. 35-37.
B. P. dated 6th April 1837, Nos. 7—10.

[3] B. P. dated 21st October 1839, Nos. 2-3.
B. P. dated 21st January 1928, Nos. 46-47.
B. P. dated 21st January 1828, Nos. 46-47.
B. P. dated 9th March 1937, Nos. 10-14.
B. P. dated 27th March 1937, Nos. 41-44.
B. P. dated 30th March 1937, Nos. 35-37.
B. P. dated 29th December 1803.

COMMITTEE OF RECORDS IN EARLY 19TH CENTURY.

(By Mr. B. B. Chakrabarti, B.A., B.L.)

There is a series of very useful records relating to land and land tenure, the existence of which is not, perhaps, widely known and as such they are rarely consulted by students in making research on the subject. With a view to introducing this series to the public, a brief account is given below showing its origin, object, constitution of a body for its compilation and how it abruptly came to an end.

The Court of Directors in their Revenue despatch, dated the 15th January 1819, pointed out the necessity of taking early and decisive measure "with a view to ascertaining and securing the rights and interests of various classes connected with the land" and instructed the Governor-General in Council "to consider the expediency of establishing a General Record Office at the Presidency in which a digest of all information collected and transactions recorded by Patwaris and Canongoes shall be formed and preserved". This subject was taken up for consideration by the Governor-General in Council in their Revenue Department proceedings dated the 17th March, 1820, in which they observed that "the report recently received from the Board of Revenue abundantly shows that too little attention has been paid to the preparation and preservation of proper records in the offices of *several* Collectors" for which the interest of Government and still more those of individuals are liable to seriously suffer. It was fully realised that "without indeed accurate registers of landed property and some authentic record of the extent and limits of estates, of the tenures under which land is occupied, and of the rights, interests and privileges of the various classes of agricultural community to which Judicial authorities may refer as a means of checking at least, if not superseding, the information or evidence produced in individual cases of litigation, it seems almost vain to hope that civil justice can effectually be administered to the people." There is no doubt that possession of such information is also "importantly useful to Government in determining on the propriety of any general rules, which may be proposed to adopt, and the modification which the local peculiarities of particular district may require."

For the full attainment of the object in view it seemed necessary "to adopt some more comprehensive and systematic arrangement, so that the accuracy and completeness of the public records in the several districts may not depend on the care and exertions of an individual officer; and that the information which they contain of a general nature may be so concentrated, digested and arranged, as to be readily available for use in consideration of questions of general importance and interest". It was also realised that a "single officer must be quite unequal to the task of checking the information derived from the various Canongoes throughout the Presidency and that in the administration of justice, the Court of Judicature will require much more detailed information than a single officer could embrace. The utility of an office of record at the Presidency must indeed chiefly depend on the accuracy and regularity with which the records in each district are prepared and preserved".

As the objects with which Government desired to possess accurate records of landed tenures and property were chiefly such as had reference to the easy and prompt distribution of civil justice and security of the rights and interests of individuals as well as of their own, it seemed highly desirable that Government should avail themselves of the services of their officers in the Judicial and Revenue branches in order to determine the nature and extent of the information to be required from Mofussil officers of Account and the mode in which it is to be recorded and preserved at the Sudder office of the district and at the Presidency.

It was accordingly resolved that in order to secure the regular and systematic preparation and preservation of public records throughout the country, a permanent Committee shall be constituted in each district, consisting ordinarily of the Judge and Collector of the district with the zillah and city Registrar as Secretary, and that at the head stations of the Court of Circuit, the senior Judge of that Court shall be also a Member of the Committee.

It was also resolved that a general record office should be established at the Presidency in which lists of all papers which may be of sufficient importance to deserve preservation in District Record Offices, abstracts made in English of those which may be considered to be highly useful and authentic copies of the most important ones should be deposited. For the superintendence of this Head Record Office, as well as for the purpose of framing general forms of the Mofussil records, for preserving regularity and uniformity in the proceedings of the District Committees and for causing such lists, abstracts and copies as may appear necessary and useful to be transmitted to the Presidency it was also resolved to establish a permanent Committee at the Presidency consisting of the :—

(1) Junior Member of the Board of Revenue ;

(2) Fourth Judge of the Court of Sudder Dewani Adalat ;

(3) Secretary to Government in the Judicial Department ;

(4) Secretary to Government in the Territorial Department, and

(5) Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs.

The 5th Member of the Committee was to perform the duties of the Secretary.

As the immediate purpose of this arrangement was to secure the preparation and preservation of proper records and registers relating to landed property, tenures and rates of rent, " in the first instance labours of the Committees will be directed to the object of ascertaining what records connected with these matters are in existence, and of having proper accounts taken and lists made of them, they will then proceed to consider and suggest the measure to be adopted for preserving public records, (including the construction of proper buildings where they may not already exist and the employment of adequate establishment) for securing the punctual preparation of them hereafter, and for bringing up arrears. The enquiries of the Presidency Committee on the above heads will embrace the records of the Sudder Dewani Adalat and of the offices of several Revenue Boards and those of Secretaries to Government and of the Revenue Accountant. The Mofussil Committees will direct their enquiries to the records of the courts and Collectors of the several stations. An early object for consideration of the Committees will be to determine the nature and extent of the information to be required from the Canongoes and Patwaries, and in considering this object, their attention will naturally be directed in an especial manner to the means of ascertaining the extent and limits of estates with a view to the decision of suits relating to disputed boundaries, of defining the rights of the inferior tenantry and of adjusting differences between land-lord and tenant."

It was also contemplated that " it ought ultimately to be made a part of the duties belonging to the Presidency Committee, gradually to collect and digest in the shape of memoirs and reports, all information of a general description relative to the nature of landed tenures, the structure of village institutions and the agricultural economy of various parts of the country. That Committee may, likewise, be very advantageously employed in selecting for publication such documents as it may appear advisable to distribute generally to the courts and Collectors, with the view of placing them in possession of the principles of the system which they are called on to administer and the object of the laws which it is their duty to enforce."

A circular was issued to all District Judges and Collectors intimating the appointment of District Committees and directing them immediately to ascertain from the Mahafiz Dufters, Registers or other persons in whose custody the records may be, what records and lists they have, how far they may be relied on, what is the condition of records whether in English or in native languages from the earliest period upto the present time. They were to attend to all requisitions and orders which they may receive from the Presidency Committee and to furnish them with any information which they may require. They were to submit their suggestions to the Presidency Committee as may occur to them best calculated to supply the deficiencies of records, to facilitate the ascertainment of all points and to secure the early adjustment of a systematic plan of general record and registry."

The Presidency Committee in their Minute, dated the 6th August, 1820, submitted their recommendations for working out the system which were accepted by Government. Amongst other things they recommended the preparation of General Registers of Malguzari Mahals and Mauzawari, Lakhiraj and other subsidiary registers containing the following heads :—

(1) Pargana, (2) Number, (3) Name of Mahal, (4) Malguzar, (5) Juma, (6) Mortgage or other limited temporary or conditional assignment, (7) Mauzas, (8) Partitions, (9) Decrees, (10) Management, and (11) Remarks.

The Committees pursued the work of preparation and preservation of records on the above line for a period of nine years when the Governor-General in Council in their Territorial Financial Department proceedings dated the 10th October, 1828 decided to appoint two Committees, one civil and the other Military, each consisting of 3 Members, one from each of the Presidencies, " specially authorised and required to make a full and detailed enquiry into the establishments and charges incurred in all branches, Civil and Military, of the administration of different Presidencies, with the view particularly of unfolding all items of expense uselessly incurred, of exhibiting those which may admit of retrenchment with the least public inconvenience and of suggesting such alterations as may appear calculated to secure to the utmost practicable extent unity, efficiency and economy in the general management of public affairs."

In pursuance of the recommendations of the aforesaid Finance Committee the *Vice* President in Council in their Financial Department proceedings dated the 17th March, 1829 decided to abolish the Presidency Committee of Records and to discharge the establishment connected therewith with effect from 1st April 1829. It was also resolved that the apartments over the General Treasury hitherto appropriated to the above establishment shall be occupied by the officers of the Chief Secretary's establishment who in addition to the records in that office will receive charge of all the papers and records belonging to the office of the Presidency Committee of Records, as well as of such printed works and other books of public records of General, Secret, Political, Judicial, Territorial and Persian Departments which may conveniently be transferred for the purpose of being deposited there.

For the control and preservation of these records it was decided that the officers of the Chief Secretary's establishment will in all matters connected with that office be exclusively under the orders and control of the Chief Secretary, but in regard to the General Depot of records of which they are to have the charge they are to be considered as subject to the control and authority of the Secretary of Government in the Territorial Department. In order to keep those records in good preservation

and free from ravages of insects the following addition to the establishment at an aggregate monthly expense of Rs. 18 was authorised :—

	Rs.
1 Daftari	8
1 Daftari	6
1 Farash	4
	18

This was the beginning of a General Record office containing records of several Departments of the Secretariat.

The Presidency Committee of Records came to an end but a large number of records of that body, though not complete, is still available in the Bengal Historical Record Room. As these records were compiled under the direction and superintendence of a Committee consisting of a Member of the Board of Revenue, a Judge of the Sadar Diwani Adalat, Secretaries to Government in the Territorial and Judicial Departments and Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, collecting all informations from the records of Sadar Dewani Adalat, several Revenue Boards, offices of Secretaries to Government, Revenue Accountant and as well as from District Record Committees and as they appear to have been concentrated, digested and arranged in such a way as to be readily available for ascertainment of rights, interests and privileges of individuals as well as of Government and for prompt and effectual administration of Justice so far as land and land tenure was concerned, there is perhaps no question of their utility. They are likely to throw considerable light on land and land revenue system from early British period upto the first quarter of the 19th century and may be of great help to students making research on the subjects.

Though the Committee apparently rendered very useful service for a period of nine years, yet it had to fall a victim to retrenchment axe for effecting economy in State expenditure. The fate of work on records has always been the same. Though such work has, at all times, been recognised to be of great administrative and historical value, yet proper attention could not be paid to it in the past as well as at present on financial grounds.

THE FIRST INDIAN COURTIERS OF THE FRENCH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

(By Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M. A.)

INTRODUCTORY.

The family of Lazare de Motta, *alias* Thanappa Mudaliar, who was the first Dubash and *Courtier* of the French at Pondicherry is now represented by Monsieur Gnanou Diagou, and *ancien bâtonnier de é ordre des avocats*, Pondicherry, who was kind enough to supply me with copies of records preserved in his family and relating to incidents in the careers of Thanappa Mudaliar, the first Dubash, Andre Muthiyappa Mudaliar, his son and successor in office, Savarimuthu, his next successor and relation and lastly Pedro Kanakaraya Mudaliar, the son of Muthiyappa and the predecessor of the famous Ananda Ranga Pillai in the office. Ranga Pillai's uncle, Nainiya Pillai, who became Dubash after Muthiyappa and his cousin, the Chevalier Guruvappa, who occupied that office for two years from 1722-24, were deemed to have been mere interlopers, by the family of Thanappa Mudaliar. In fact, for more than half a century from the foundation of Pondicherry in 1674 it was Thanappa and his descendants that held that high office. It will be of some interest to students of the History of the French India to know something of the work of these persons who may well be regarded as having paved the way for the achievement of Ananda Ranga. This paper is based on material, preserved in the family of Thanappa, in Tamil and supplied to the writer by the kindness of Monsieur Gnanou Diagou and made available in English now.

I.

Thanappa Mudaliar was a Veḷḷáḷa of the Ahambadiya caste and a native of Poonamalle, near Madras. He met the Abbé Carré who had accompanied the Dutchman, Caron, who was the Director-General of the French Company and had been sent to start activities in India by the King of France. The Abbé first arrived in India in 1668, went back home in 1671 and returned again in 1672. François Martin, the founder of Pondicherry, landed in India in 1665 as a sub-merchant of the Company. Five years later he was at Surat. He was also with De La Haye during the siege operations of San Thome, where the French had to stand two attacks during their short-lived occupation of the place (1672-74). It may be said that the French rule over San Thome was in reality one prolonged period of blockade of the town by the combined forces of the Sultan of Golconda and of the Dutch. It was finally starved into surrender in August 1674, after the siege had lasted nearly two years. In August 1673, the Abbé Carré came to Madras and made it his home for the time being. He then became useful to De la Haye in the matter of establishing contacts between the French and the chief personages of the country and of securing grain for the feeding of the French garrison. It was now that he became acquainted with Thanappa Mudaliar, a merchant of Poonamalle, who enjoyed considerable trade relations with Mylapore—San Thome. He was struck by his honesty and integrity and recommended him to the notice of De la Haye and of François Martin. Thanappa helped Martin in his voyagings to the ports on the coast to secure food-stuffs. When it was resolved to send a body of Frenchmen to Pondicherry on January 13, 1674, to settle thereat, the question to be next decided was whether these should go by land or sea. On the advice of Thanappa it was decided to embark in a large boat all the emigrants numbering 150 and including Martin, his Dubash who was a Portuguese half-caste by name Antoine, and several servants and women. It was only with considerable difficulty that the boat escaped the vigilant watch of a big Dutch ship anchored in the roadstead of San Thome

and reached the sea by the mouth of the Adayar River. The emigrants were also apprehensive of capture by the Dutch in the neighbourhood of Sadras, but fortunately passed that part of the coast in the dark of the night. The next evening, at 4 P.M., the boat reached the Pondicherry roadstead. High waves prevented any *catamaran* from reaching it that day, and it was only on the third day of the voyage that the people could disembark, *i.e.*, January 15, which was the day following the Makara Sankrânti, known as the *Máttupongal.*

Thanappa Mudaliar became Martin's principal adviser and co-adjutor in all his activities. Very soon the Dutch grew jealous of the growing wealth and prosperity of Pondicherry. A war-ship had been stationed by them off San Thome to prevent the ingress of food-stuffs to De la Haye. They also mobilised the garrisons at their factories at Porto Novo, Dévanámpatnam (later, Fort St. David) and Negapatam for the purpose of attacking Pondicherry. Further, they intrigued with the Sultan of Golconda and got troops from him. They also approached the Bijapurian Governor of Gingee, Nazir Muhammad Khan. The Dewan at the court of Bijapur, Khan Khanan, was a worthless voluptuary sunk in pleasure and had entrusted all affairs to his favourite, Siddi Darvesh. This latter was a black, curly-haired Abyssinian and very avaricious ; he was bribed by the Dutch ; and a body of cavalry was detailed by him to lay waste the region of Pondicherry. Moreover, many of the neighbouring Poligars had been won over by the Dutch and directed to harrass the French at Pondicherry. The Dutch had also urged the English at Madras to help in driving away the French residents in their settlement. These were the dangers that beset the infant town of Pondicherry even in the first year of its existence.

The French had only one ally, Sher Khan Lodi, the ruler of Válikandapuram (the Volcondah of Orme) a man who, by the judicious use of men and money, had contrived to keep all enemies at bay. But he was not then in a position to render any active assistance to the struggling body of Frenchmen at Pondicherry, because he himself was engaged in a fight with the Nayak of Madura. Still, he contrived to send them a body of horsemen whom he had stationed at Cuddalore and gave them some financial assistance also.

In this critical year (1674), Thanappa Mudaliar served as the constant adviser of both De la Haye and of Martin. He had on several occasions to go to San Thome ; and once his journey had to be delayed because *catamarans* were not available. The information regarding Thanappa's help to Martin is also noticed in the *Journal* that the latter kept of his doings and embodied in the *Memoirs* that he compiled in 1676.

In July 1688, there arose a dispute between the Capuchin monks of Pondicherry and the Governor. The Capuchin Mission had purchased a plot of land to the north of the trading-market of the Company and proposed to build therein out-houses and a monastery for the use of their Order. In view of the harrying of the countryside by the Mughals at that time and of the prevailing unrest, the Governor said that he would enclose the ground with a compound wall and properly fortify it and also erect a church and habitations for the monks. Further, he pointed out that the shrine constructed on the seashore by the Company's Dubash, Thanappa Mudaliar, at his own cost had been handed over by him to the Capuchin monks and that there were a few cells nearby in which they could live, as well as space for the construction of additional living rooms, and moreover to the west of the church there was an extensive garden for their use wherein a building was also being constructed. As such, he said there was ample room and accommodation for their purposes. But as the monks were adamant in their demand, the Governor consented to the construction of a few out-houses. They drew up plans for the construction of

a beautiful chapel and also attempted to build by its side a two-storeyed monastery containing many rooms and rising higher than the neighbouring houses. Consequent on the objections raised by the Company's officials, the Governor came to a compromise with the monks by which it was agreed that the Company was to take over that building and compensate them otherwise (Martin's *Second Book*, p. 554). It is known from the books kept by the Capuchin monks that Antonio, son of Lazare De Motta, the Company's Dubash, and Maria, daughter of Lazare, were baptised on March 20, 1671 and on 5th August 1688, respectively.

Just as Kāśi Vīranna (the Casa Verona of the Records of Fort St. George) at Madras was greatly helpful to the English interests at that settlement, so also Thanappa Mudaliar at Pondicherry completely identified himself with the French and furthered their interests to a great extent. Kāśi Vīranna was a most influential merchant of Madras, was utilised by the English in their negotiations with the country powers, particularly the Moslems and succeeded Timmanna as the Company's Chief Merchant in 1678.

In the year 1674, when Martin came to Pondicherry there were only a few fishermen's huts at the place, besides a stone-house built by the Danish King. Thanappa was greatly helpful to Martin in providing suitable and adequate facilities for commerce, for the export and import of articles of merchandise and for their safe warehousing. He also got together weavers, dyers and other artificers from the neighbouring country and made them settle in streets mapped out for the various castes and communities. He invited also dealers in coral and pearls (chiefly Armenians and Jews) to start trade relations with Pondicherry.

He built, in the year 1683, a church on the sea shore, at his own expense, for the use of Tamil Christians. Subsequently, in 1686, he handed over the Church to the Capuchin monks, as noticed above. Some decades later, it was totally ruined by heavy rains ; and the Capuchin monks had to build another shrine in its place. On stone inscriptions in the new Chapel are written these words :—

> " The foundation-stone of the church built by Lazare De Motta, the Chief of the Tamil merchants attached to the French East India Company in the year 1686 is here. But a portion of the temple got so damaged on account of heavy rains that it became necessary to demolish the entire edifice. For the purpose of restoring to the site the respect which was its due, this temple was built and consecrated on December 20, 1734."(1)

After a very useful life of activity, Thanappa Mudaliar died at Madras on one of his visits to that place. There is a tombstone inscription now found among those in the pavement outside St. Mary's Church in the Fort which runs as follows :—

> " In the year 1691 (corresponding to Pramódúta, Chitra, 21st day) Lazare De Motta *alias* Thanappa, Ahambadi Mudaliar, a founder of the French Company at Pondicherry, breathed his last. He lies buried in St. Andrew's Church at Chennapatnam."(2)

Thus died Thanappa Mudaliar at the height of his wealth and fame, without having the misfortune to witness the capture by the Dutch of Pondicherry, whose foundations he had laid and whose development into prosperity was so largely due to his care.

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(1) The truth of the statements contained in these inscriptions was corroborated by the written testimony of Father Felix, a Capuchin monk, before the Council of Notaries on July 21 1829. Also refer to the Consultation of the Superior Council, of November 15, 1728 (*Proces-Verbaux des Deliberations du Conseil Superieur de Pondicherry*, 701-39) by E. Gaudart.

(2) *List of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments in Madras*, by J. J. Cotton, I.C.S.—p. 6 (compound of St. Mary's Church in the Fort).

II. Andre Muthiappa Mudaliar.

A Resolution of the Superior Council of 1720, April 27, says that in regard to the one thousand Pálayamkóttai pagodas given over to the Treasury on November 15, 1701, and entered in the books of the Fort to the credit of the family and five hundred and fifty pagodas accrued by way of interest, the said interest of 550 pagodas having been agreed to be received in cash in a single payment by Pedro Kanakaraya Mudaliar, son of Andre Muthiappa Mudaliar, and the head of the family, the Treasurer of the Company was to pay him the said amount and obtain a receipt for the same ; and further Andre Muthiappa was, in the presence of the Clerk of the Council, to give an acknowledgment which was to absolve the Company from all claims which may be made in future in respect of the amount by the members of Andre Muthiappa's family. This is a recorded piece of evidence showing the continuity of trade association with the Company of Muthiappa, the son of Thanappa and of his son Pedro.

It was the custom in those days that all converts who received baptism were to be named after some saint. In accordance with this practice, the father Thanappa must have been given the baptismal name of Lazare and the son that of Andre. In view of the resemblance of the figure of St. Andrew who died on the upturned Cross, to a spear (*Vel*) which is the weapon of God Indra, the word Andre had been rendered into Véléndran and Muthiappa Mudaliar was also known as Véléndran Mudaliar.

From the petitions to the Governor of two grand-sons of Pedro Kanakaraya Mudaliar, son of Andre Muthiappa Mudaliar and Courtier from 1724 to 1746, in the years 1816-1818 praying for permission to use the decorations of their grandfather, it is known that Andre Muthiappa was the son of Thanappa Mudaliar. Further it is clear from the fact that he was made the Dubash of the French Company from 1699, when the French got back Pondicherry from the Dutch and Martin was restored to the Governorship, that he was appointed to his father Thanappa Mudaliar's place by the old patron of the family.

The Governor at that time was the Chevalier Hébert, who was miserly and avaricious and wanted to shake the pagoda tree quickly. Andre Muthiappa did not fully understand his temper and character or was unable to satisfy his greed in sufficient measure. The Superior Council, in its Resolution of December 12, 1708, when it dismissed Andre Muthiappa for his failure to effect a proper sale of the Company's coral and replaced him by a Hindu merchant of Madras, named Nainiyappa, who contrived to secure a relatively good price for it, wrongly entered in its record the name of the dismissed Courtier as Lazare. The correct name should have been Andre Muthiappa, the son of Lazare De Motta.

That is why a mistake had crept in the introduction to the book " Un Livre de Compte de Ananda Ranga Poulle, Courtier de La Compagnie des Indes, Traduit Du Tamoul " par Le R. P. Oubagaraswamy Bernadotte, Introduction et Notices Biographiques par Edmond Gaudart, Pondicherry 1930, it was put, on page xvi, " Pour le recompenser des services qu'il avait ainsi rendus, le chevalier Hebert le nomna courtier, en remplacement de Lazare de Motta (18 Decembre 1708) " ; and it was mistakenly held that Lazare lived on till 1708, though we have the actual tombstone inscription at Madras already referred to above that his death took place at Madras while he was on a visit to the place in 1691.

Muthiappa had not inherited perhaps the great abilities of his father ; but he enjoyed considerable influence with the Jesuits, who had been empowered by a Royal Edict of 1695 to settle in Pondicherry and had closely followed the Capuchins ; he cultivated their friendship and kept them informed of all transactions conducted

through himself. The office of *Mudaliar* (or *Dubash* or *Courtier*) empowered its holder to control the entire business of the Company with its Indian clients. He was the middle-man between the Company and the merchants, weavers and other workers who furnished goods for export and bought the imported commodities ; he was also the Tamil translator of the Company and acted as surety for the good conduct of the various Indian lessees and contractors who had relations with the Company. Likewise, he fixed the prices of all the articles of the Company's merchandise bought and sold. The Governor who had taken a dislike to Muthiappa mainly because of his great influence with the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, mercilessly dismissed him from his post on the pretext that he had communicated an important piece of information regarding a mission on which he had sent to the ruler of Gingee, to a Jesuit Father ; and he forthwith appointed in his place a Hindu, Nainiyappa, who is held in the Records of the family of Muthiappa to have been " an honest and well-spoken Hindu ".

Whatever might have been the real inner reasons that weighed with Hébert for the removal of Muthiappa, the action was itself manifestly unjust. The Governor showed, in a marked manner, his dislike of the pious Mudaliar and thereby brought upon himself the enmity of the Society of Jesus. Not only Nainiyappa whose trade relations were hitherto mainly confined to Madras, was a Hindu and a comparative stranger to Pondicherry ; but, as was generally believed at the time, he might have probably secured the place from Hébert through bribery. Owing to the efforts of the Jesuits of the court of Versailles, Hébert was recalled soon afterwards to France and Dulivier was appointed Governor in his place. It was decided by the King's Council on February 14, 1711 that the post of *Mudaliar*—the highest to which any Indian was eligible—should be given to a Christian and that Nainiyappa, the present Hindu incumbent of that office, was to be removed from his place forthwith. But the Directors of the Company amended the Resolution thus : Nainiyappa was to be given six months' time within which he should study the Christian Scriptures and only if he did not embrace Christianity with conviction within that period, he was to be removed and another appointed in his stead.

Dulivier arrived at Pondicherry, in September 1713, with these orders. Shortly afterwards, being very much under the influence of the Jesuits, he summoned the Superior Council to consider the petition of the Jesuits that the King's orders respecting the demolition of the new shrines of the Hindus and the dismissal of the Hindu Mudaliar, should be enforced. The Council, however, feared an exodus of all the Hindu inhabitants if the order regarding the closure of several Hindu temples should be attempted to be carried out. The other order about the dismissal of Nainiyappa was equally difficult to enforce and would also be impolitic in the prevailing circumstances. Nainiyappa was most qualified in all matters of trade ; and by reason of his influence with the Muhammadan rulers of the land, his services were indispensable to the Company. Very recently the Nawab of the Carnatic had demanded the return of some villages granted to the French Company or, in the alternative, the payment of the large sum of 8,000 *Chuckrams* as compensation in lieu of the income derived from these villages. He even sent a body of horsemen to enforce his demand and to occupy these villages ; but Nainiyappa succeeded in settling the affair and in securing the withdrawal of the Nawab's cavalry without any expenditure of money ; he had also successfully patched up all the troubles with the Muhammadans and had a unique knowledge of the Company's affairs both in and out of Pondicherry. If dismissed, he might work much injury to the Company and even secure the flight of the lessees of land, toddy-contractors and others from the settlement. It would be difficult to collect cloth for export to Europe without his help

for the three ships that were to set sail immediately. Thus the Council resolved :-

" No Indian, Hindu or Christian, is so fit to hold the office of Mudaliar in these days, when Nawabs and other native potentates are keen on resecuring their grants to European subjects. We must try our best to attract him to our religion by convincing him of the truth of our Scriptures and of our own good behaviour. If we approach the man in the proper manner with regard to the demolition of the Hindu temple near the Church, we may hope that he will in good time take steps to carry out the King's resolution."

" It is not merely a matter of prudence at this anxious juncture to retain Nainiyappa, who will be useful to us. But the association of a thoroughly trustworthy Christian in the post of Mudaliar would appear to be necessary so that he may gain experience with Nainiyappa in all matters of business and build up his influence with the other communities and in due course succeed Nainiyappa in the Mudaliarship. Thus the job can be assumed by a Christian without attracting undue attention and without giving offence to anybody or community. Then the Christian merchants will have a protection of their own."

In view of these reasons, the Council (Resolution of the Council, March 9, 1714) appointed unanimously Savari,(1) a Christian with a reputation for honesty, as co-Mudaliar with Nainiyappa. They were to get on in their jobs as Mudaliars " without any distinction of seniority" and were always to be friendly and to act in concert. Savari was to interest himself in the promotion of the welfare of the Christians. He was to inform us of occurrences inimical to Christian interests as soon as they took place. He was warned that he would be summarily dealt with if he was slack in this duty. Nainiyappa was warned not to do anything against the Christian religion or to put obstacles in its ways. He was not to wound the feelings of Christians or to institute new worship in his (Hindu) temples except those recognised and sanctioned during the governorship of the Chevalier. He was further warned that if he failed in these duties legal proceedings would be taken against him and severe punishment awarded."

III. Pedro Kanakaraya Mudaliar.

Pedro Kanakaraya Mudaliar was born in 1695 and was the eldest son of Andre Muthiappa, but lost his father in his childhood. He learnt well the Portuguese tongue which was then the *lingua franca* of all the European communities in India. He developed early qualities of good understanding, a disposition to be charitable and an astonishing degree of patience and discernment. He brought into association with him in trade many of his relatives and a number of Christians. He was so generous hearted that he was soft even towards his rival Nainiyappa, the co-Mudaliar of Savari, and defended him before the Superior Council when a charge was brought against him by the members of the Society of Jesus that he was distributing Hindu prayer-garlands to the Christian poor who had come along with others to partake of his distribution of food at his choultry. He testified to the Council that Nainiyappa was not animated by any anti-Christian motive in this action of his.

The Chevalier Hébert returned to Pondicherry in 1715, along with his son, having cleverly made his peace with the members of the Society of Jesus and secured their guarantee for his undertaking to the Government and Company that he would himself make good all the expenditure that might have to be incurred at Pondicherry without asking for any remittances from home. The Jesuits had guaranteed to Hébert that they would stand security for his assurance on the express understanding

(1) In view of the fact that Andre Muthiappa was dead and his son Kanakaraya was then only a youth, his brother's father-in-law, Savarimuthu Mudaliar, was appointed co-Mudaliar along with Nainiyappa. Savarimuthu's co-Mudaliarship was uneventful ; very likely he was not endowed with talents, and his faith was deemed to be his principal qualification.

that he would help them in spreading the Christian faith to the utmost extent of his power and that he would appoint a Christian to the post of Mudaliar and replace Nainiyappa at the earliest opportunity. At the time of Hébert's arrival there were two vessels belonging to the Company of St. Malo, ready to sail with a cargo of cloth. Hébert instructed Nainiyappa the Mudaliar to arrange that the weavers should raise their prices by 20 to 25 per cent., so that this increase might be shared between them and himself and thereby he could make a gain of 10,000 pagodas. Nainiyappa would not consent to be a party to this, but on the other hand instructed the merchants to settle their prices direct with the Captains of the vessels. From that time forward Hébert bore a bitter grudge against Nainiyappa and tried to utilise his personal enemies, creditors and others in order to harm him. Nainiyappa sought protection from Dulivier, the former Governor, but with no effect. Hébert strove to extort a large sum of money from Nainiyappa and instructed his son, who had been put on the Council to demand a gratification of 10,000 pagodas, which was, he asserted, only a quarter of the sum earned by him as Mudaliar. Nainiyappa had indeed given a gratification of 1,000 pagodas to Hébert on his return as Governor. He now gave a sum of about 700 pagodas. After some time Hébert Junior reminded Nainiyappa of the wish of the Governor, but offered to reduce his demand to 5,000 pagodas and later said he would be content with 3,000. Nainiyappa totally refused. On February 19, 1716, Nainiyappa and his friends Tiruvengadam Pillai and Ramanathan were imprisoned, fettered and confined in a dark room, on the following charges :—

(1) On the *Amávásya* (New Moon) day in February 1715 which happened to be a Sunday when Government had ordered that the Hindu rites should not be publicly performed, the Hindu inhabitants of the settlement protested and deserted owing to the instigation of Nainiyappa, who took a written promise from them that they would desert in this circumstance.

(2) He also instigated a popular riot at Kaḷápattu, a village to the north of Pondicherry, when a troop of soldiers was sent there to maintain order.

(3) Nainiyappa had his assistant, Kandan, who was associated with him in trade for a long time, tortured in the choultry and made him disgorge a portion of his earnings.

Nainiyappa pleaded that he was innocent of the first two charges and that, with regard to the third, since Kandan defrauded him, he had him beaten in the choultry and realised only what was taken away from him by appropriating Kandan's goods.

(4) The fourth charge against Nainiyappa was that he compelled the headman of a Right Hand caste to work under a Left Hand casteman ; and when he refused to do so, he deprived him of his office and of his tools as well. The charge was brought also that the Mudaliar levied some unauthorised taxes from the Indian merchants.

(5) Nainiyappa had paid from the Company's funds 1,085 pagodas to the Diwan of the Musalman *subah* and made out to the latter's *gumastah* that it was his own gift. He had also contrived to get possession of a *parwana* from the *subah* by which he was empowered to levy extra dues from cultivators.

The Council, after taking depositions from witnesses who were cited, came to the conclusion that Nainiyappa was guilty of having received bribes and of having abused his powers and oppressed many of the Hindu inhabitants of Pondicherry and that he was also guilty of having instigated the riot of February 1715. Therefore they resolved to inflict the following punishment on him : to take him to the big bazaar and give him at that place, on the bare back, fifty strokes of the whip,

to condemn him to rigorous imprisonment for three years and to a payment of a fine of 4,000 pagodas and of a compensation amount of 8,888 pagodas for losses suffered by the Company on account of him ; and that if he did not pay these amounts, he was to be condemned to slavery and transported to Mauritius for life.

Kanakaraya Mudaliar bought some of the movable properties of Nainiyappa when they were sold publicly by government. A charge was now brought against Kanakaraya in connection that he had secured witnesses to depose for Nainiyappa. He pleaded that even this if it should have been true, it could not be regarded as criminal. Moreover, from the foundation of Pondicherry, the family of Kanakaraya had been very serviceable to the Company ; first, in the matter of the securing of the site of the settlement from Nawab Sher Khan Lodi, of inviting merchants, weavers and artisans to settle at Pondicherry enabling them to build their houses, establishing regulations for their conduct and helping them in other ways. After the life-time of Thanappa Mudaliar, when his son Muthiappa succeeded to his office, he was replaced after some years in 1708 by Nainiyappa.

In these circumstances that Pedro Kanakaraya should have secured witnesses to testify to the charges against him would not be criminal. The only question to prove these was whether these witnesses spoke the truth as to Nainiyappa's implication in the *Amávásya* riots and in the rising in Kalapattu, as to his having secured the imprisonment and punishment of Kandan and as to his having forced a member of the Right Hand castes to work for Left Hand people, as to his having given diamond ear-rings as a bribe to Governor Dulivier and as to his having given 1,088 pagodas to the Diwan of the Nawabi and secured thereby power for himself to collect increased rents of the cultivators. Nainiyappa was really guilty of some of these charges which could be fundamentally substantiated. But the way in which his trial was conducted by a dishonest and prejudiced Governor and in which his properties were hastily sealed up and were sold in auction, a portion being taken by some members of the Council themselves—these were opposed to all considerations of justice and fair-play.

When Dulivier was Governor, he made use of Nainiyappa's case to harm Hébert, had the statement of the dismissed *Courtier* and the complaints of his companions, Tiruvengadam and Ramanathan, translated into French and submitted them for further inquiry to the King and the Royal Council. The merchants of the Company of St. Malo entertained a spite against Hébert and carried vigorous complaints against him to their headquarters, protesting that so long as he should continue in the governorship, they would not at all despatch any ships for trade to India. Kanakaraya was appointed to the post of Mudaliar immediately after Nainiyappa was accused. On May 2, 1716, it was resolved by the Council to send presents to the value of 300 pagodas in order to pacify the Nawab who had demanded 2,000 rupees and had besides occupied Vaḷudávúr, Villiyanúr and other villages in the vicinity of Pondicherry. Pedro Kanakaraya successfully negotiated with the Mussalmans and brought their demand down to 2,000 rupees.

On January 11, 1717, on the eve of the Pongal (Makara Sankránti) festival, there arose a big altercation between the Right and Left Hand castes people in Pondicherry.(1) Hébert promptly secured the persons of four leaders on either side and brought them before the Superior Council for examination. After these persons and the Mudaliar were intensively examined, it was resolved that each one of these leaders should be given an indemnity for 3,000 pagodas and whichever side was proved to have acted contrary to *mámul* should lose their indemnity amount.

(1) Such quarrels were a common feature of South Indian Hindu life, particularly among the Tamils, in those days *vide* my paper on Right and Left Hand Factions in Madras (I. H. R. Commission 1929, Gwalior meeting).

Hébert said that there should be a further inquiry and ordered these headmen to be continued under arrest. Eight witnesses were examined ; and on their testimony it was made clear that the Left Hand men had encroached upon the streets reserved for the Right Hand and no quarrel would have arisen had they confined themselves to their own streets. They demanded the compensation which was due to the wronged party. It was finally resolved by the Council that the Left Hand was responsible for the riot of the New Moon day and they should pay a fine of 3,000 pagodas to the Secretary to the Company and also their leaders should be imprisoned in the choultry as security for their payment. We learn, from the Consultations of the Council of January 19, 1717 that Kanakaraya Mudaliar took great pains to persuade the headmen of the Left Hand to carry out the conditions of their agreement and to submit quietly to the Council's orders, that they should immediately pay down 1,000 pagodas and the balance of 2,000 pagodas within 30 days and meanwhile they should allow four of their leaders to be kept in the fort as guarantee. This is a remarkable instance of the capacity of Pedro Kanakaraya Mudaliar for terminating successfully an ugly episode in the life of the Hindu castes.

When Hébert was removed from office and La Prevostiere became the interim Governor, he removed all the officials and headmen of the castes who had been appointed by his predecessor and replaced them by several of those who had been companions of Nainiyappa Pillai. Kanakaraya Mudaliar was also removed from his post, though the Governor declined to take up any personal responsibility for that act and shifted it to the shoulders of the court of inquiry that had been appointed to try the case of Nainiyappa Pillai anew. In the final judgment given on the trial, the previous sentence against Nainiyappa was cancelled and it was ordered that 10,000 pagodas should be paid to his children from out of the sale proceeds of his property and that Hébert should pay them 20,000 livres as compensation. For sometime after Kanakaraya was removed from the office of Mudaliar, no new man was appointed to it ; and the result was that the trade of the settlement was neglected, the merchants of Saint Malo began to indulge in quarrels and European ships did not at all arrive and the treasury became empty. The situation was so bad that the Superior Council had, on one occasion, to borrow 8,000 pagodas for current expenses from the Indian merchants. The latter agreed to do so on certain conditions. First, the new Mudaliar that might be appointed should not interfere in the relations that might be entered into by the merchants with the weavers, washers, bleachers and others working under them. (2) That they would pay only half the dues on goods that might be exported and imported. (3) That the reorganised French Company—the reorganisation scheme of Law was then afoot—should purchase all its goods for export on all its goods for export only from them and that the head merchant and his successors in office should have the privilege of riding in a palanquin into the fort with appropriate *birudas* according to his caste status.

Guruva Pillai, the eldest son of Nainiyappa, had meanwhile gone to Paris and been befriended by the Mission d'Etrangers and, by their persuasion, had been baptised and promised protection by the Duke D'Orleans and the Queen Mother, who were respectively his god-father and god-mother. He also became a Chevalier of the Order of St. Michael and got the right of riding in a palanquin and the offices of the Company's Broker and the Headman among the Indians, with his uncle Tiruvengadam Pillai as his Assistant (Letter of May 21, 1721, from the Company to the Governor). Besides, Guruva Pillai was adopted as a French citizen. But he, Guruvappa, had taken to drink while in France and broke down in health soon after he assumed office. The one good act that he was able to do was that he persuaded the Indian merchants and the artisans to contribute a small tax for the raising of a wall of protection enclosing the Indian quarter at Pondicherry. He died within two years of his assumption of office (August, 1724).

Kanakaraya, in spite of the fact that he was removed from the office of Mudaliar, continued to take a keen interest in the promotion of the trade of the Company, to procure cargoes for its ships and to move intimately with the Governor and the chief officials. So, after Guruvappa's death, he was reappointed to the office of the Company's Broker and Mudaliar on September 15, 1724. But Guruvappa's relations and partisans did not like his appointment and petitioned against it to the Company in Paris. On July 11, 1726 the Superior Council at Pondicherry decided, when letters were received through England, dated October 5, 1725, directing the removal of Pedro (Kanakaraya) Mudaliar, that as it was only a little while before that he was appointed, it would be inadvisable to remove him from office just then, particularly as the new Governor Lenoir was shortly expected to land and the matter might be left to be decided by him and his Council ; and that it was essential that the Mudaliar should not be disturbed from the task of collecting the cargoes for the four ships that were shortly to set sail for France ; and, moreover, at present there was no other qualified man available for the post. The Council thus recorded its opinion of Kanakaraya : " He is well-endowed with honesty, integrity, discernment, experience and influence. He is capable of sustained activity and of exerting full control over his subordinates and has been quite keen in informing us of the feelings and views of the Hindu population." Governor Lenoir quickly learnt that the complaints against Kanakaraya Mudaliar were not genuine and proceeded only from interested people, and made him permanent Courtier. During the years of the Governorship of Lenoir and of Dumas (1726-42), Kanakaraya was at the zenith of his career and earned for himself material prosperity and social importance.

Kanakaraya learnt to appreciate the intelligence and honesty of Ananda Ranga Pillai who was then a youth apprenticed under his father. Consequently, in spite of a natural jealousy of the growing name and prosperity of the rival family which had superseded his own, Ananda Ranga Pillai had entered, in several places in his *Diary*, golden opinions about Kanakaraya and his generosity and character. Thus, under his entry for September 10, 1736, we read that when Dost Ali's *parwana* was received in state in Pondicherry, it was Kanakaraya that looked to the proper conduct of the ceremonies. Kanakaraya was a friend of Imam Sahib who was a sort of Secretary to the Nawab ; and through his influence he secured for the French the remission of half the charge that was levied on the minting of rupees by the French at the Nawab's mint at Alambarai (1732 December). He also arranged that the mint started at Pondicherry should be conducted under the supervision of a reliable merchant and recommended Sunku Seshachala Chetty for the place. According to the Consultations of the Superior Council of July 27, 1728, it is known to us that Kanakaraya urged upon the Government the desirability of removing the tax imposed upon the merchants and the headmen of the castes for some time past, owing to the prevailing famine conditions. He further pleaded that neither in the other European settlements nor in the Muslim dominions were shroffs' licenses let out to auction and if this practice was discontinued, many brokers and shroffs from the Arcot country would settle in Pondicherry and promote its prosperity. In the place of these two taxes whose abolition he urged, Kanakaraya suggested the raising of duties by 1 per cent on all articles except rice, paddy and cereals that were brought into Pondicherry either by land or sea ; and also that the duty on goods other than those from Europe ships exported from the settlement might also be raised by a small percentage. Kanakaraya shared the profits of the mint with Sunku Seshachala Chetty in the proportion of 1 : 2. The latter was the ostensible head ; but the former was the real controller behind the scene. In March 1737, Kanakaraya fell seriously ill of diabetes. When an acting incumbent had to be appointed in the place of Kanakaraya, Ananda Ranga Pillai was recommended for the place by some Councillors. Then Kanakaraya did not allow the longstanding

animity between Pillai and himself to stand in the way of urging his appointment. Ananda Ranga Pillai indeed says of Kanakaraya, when he got a medal as reward from the Company : " There has been before him no Dubash who held office so long, or who amassed so much money ; and there has been no predecessor of his whose name has travelled so far as France, and who has obtained so much distinction. Who shall say that this man is not fortunate ? "(1)

Kanakaraya took a prominent share in the negotiations for the purchase of Karikkal from the Rajah of Tanjore. The details of these negotiations are given by Ananda Ranga Pillai but he naturally tried to make little of the efforts and methods of Kanakaraya. Kanakaraya was told by Imam Sahib when he visited Pondicherry at that time :—" I am very glad that Chanda Sahib made a present of Karikkal to *your people*. You are amicably disposed towards one another and may you continue to be so."

In one place Ranga Pillai unwittingly gives expression, in strong language, to the ill-will subsisting between himself and Kanakaraya whom he charges with making defamatory reports against him to the Governor and calls down God's wrath upon the head of his enemy. He however continued to enjoy the favour of the Governor and was prominent in all the negotiations with the country powers. He received the wife and family of Nawab Safdar Ali Khan when they were sent for protection to Pondicherry during the Maratha campaign of 1740 and also Safdar Ali himself, along with Chanda Sahib, Taqi Sahib and others, when they paid a visit of courtesy to Pondicherry in September. In December 1740 Kanakaraya who acted also as Dubash to the Governor, suggested that he could obtain a large sum by levying an income-tax on all the merchants of the company as well as on the wholesale and retail traders and all those dealers, *Kómatis* and *Gujarátis* who had fled for shelter to Pondicherry owing to the incursions of the Marathas. From the records preserved in his family it is known that Kanakaraya enabled the realisation of a large sum by this means. Hussain Tahir Khan presented a palanquin fitted with silver fittings to the Mudaliar who was allowed to use it by the Governor. He negotiated with the Maratha sardars in the country and went to Karikkal along with the Governor in June 1741.

Kanakaraya was always in prominent attendance at all State receptions. He received personages, embassies and letters usually in the company of some Europeans, Muthiappa Pillai and others. It is maintained by Monsieur Gnanou Diagou that Kanakaraya consistently advised Governor Dumas not to resort to measures of force, but to carry out his objects by mere threats of force and by diplomacy. Kanakaraya was very straight—forward in his dealings with all the merchants and the profits earned by the Company from trade operations were never so large either before Dumas' Governorship or after it. He enjoyed the fullest confidence of Dumas and was entrusted by him with the conduct of all negotiations with the Mussalman powers and, particularly, with the measures leading to the acquisition of Karikkal. It is remarked by M. Gnanou Diagou that the French could not keep any other places than those that were acquired in Dumas's time.

Kanakaraya never showed any animus against the Hindu castes, but treated all communities alike without distinction of high or low birth, nor did he in any way

(1) The Company had resolved on October 30, 1737, to give Pedro Kanakaraya Mudaliar a present of a medal bearing the effigy of the king and a gold chain and instructed the Governor to personally adorn him with these in the presence of the Council at a meeting held for the purpose of rewarding those who had been serviceable in securing the Charter for the mint. On the 17th October 1738, when Kanakaraya was actually presented with the medal from the Company, Ranga Pillai somewhat spitefully added that " although the grant is not in reality so great an honour as to fill one with pride, the medal having come from France will no doubt arouse intense joy in the hearts of Kanakaraya Mudali and his kinsmen."

concern himself with the faction fights of the Right and Left Hand groups. He always gave the Governor and the Superior Council impartial and conscientious counsel. He was given the village of *Álamkuppam* as *jaghir* for his services. When presents from the great Nizamu'l-Mulk who was investing Trichinopoly in 1742 came, they were received with all honours by the Governor ; and in the reception Kanakaraya was naturally the first among the native gentry. He also played a prominent part on the occasion of Nawab Anwaru'd-din's visit to Pondicherry in September 1745. His last great service was when he consecrated the Church that he built in the village of Redipálayam, to the east of Oḷḷukkarai and in celebration of this invited members of all communities to the festival and entertained them at a grand feast, the food arrangements being made in strict conformity with the religious scruples of each caste. Ranga Pillai himself admits in his *Diary* that neither in the arrangements which Kanakaraya made, nor in the supplies which he procured was there anything wanting ; but he showed his personal jealousy in a later remark :—" Although of a different persuasion, he (Kanakaraya) followed the practice of a Hindu ; assembled people of that religion ; and gave them a treat which afforded room for dispraise and derision, and every man gave vent to his criticisms as he saw fit. If he wished to conform to the rules of his Church, and the commands of his scriptures he should have entertained only the Europeans, Native Christians, Pariahs, and such others ; whose associations brought them in touch with his religion." This comment was actuated only by a mean sense of jealousy at the success of Kanakaraya's entertainment.(1)

Down to his last illness in February 1746, when Kanakaraya was almost at death's door, he enjoyed the full confidence of the Governor and the Superior Council. Thus Mahfúz Khan, son of Nawab Anwaru'd-din, desired to see Dupleix on his way to Trichinopoly at that time ; and Kanakaraya's younger brother, Chinnah Mudali, was directed by the Governor to receive him and make arrangements. Gnanou Diagou points out the several good features of Kanakaraya's career and character in a note on the records that he prepared. Therein it is stressed that he promoted not only the export trade to Europe but also the trade with Asiatic ports ; and the profits of the Company were high during the years of his *Courtiership*. He carefully avoided creating or encouraging any occasion for misunderstanding between the French and the Indian powers and secured the good will of the latter towards the Government at Pondicherry. The presents that he secured for himself and for Governor Dumas were certainly very large and great in value. A striking contrast is also made of the effect and end of the Courtiership of Ananda Ranga Pillai with those of Kanakaraya ; and the former is declared to have ended in the fall of Dupleix and in the collapse of French dominion, due to neglect of trade and too much of interference with the politics of the country powers, which the Courtier should have advised against.

(1) In one place Ananda Ranga Pillai admits the reason of the animosity existing between him and Kanakaraya Mudaliar in these words : " You may remember all the mischievous acts of which he, out of sheer jealousy, was the author during the time of M. Hébert. In spite of my unremitting efforts to act in accordance with his wishes, he still cherishes in his heart the old ill-feeling."

Some Dutch documents on the seige of Jinji and capitulation of Pondicherry 1692-93, A. D.

[By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.]

The celebrated seige of Jinji (1690-97) by the Mughal Army under Zulfikar Khan and the activities of Rajaram during the period have been described fully by Professor Sarkar in Chapter 51 of his History of Aurangzeb, Vol. 5. The third volume of Memoires de Francois Martin (1934) and the learned introduction to it from the pen of Froidevaux add many details to our knowledge of the period, though many of these had already been made known to students by Kaeppelin's book, La Compagnie des Indes Orientales et Francois Martin (1908). Volume 4 of Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando Indicum published by Prof. Stapel in 1935 contains some documents bearing on this phase of South Indian History, and though these documents do not by any means alter the general outline of the history of this well-worked period, they enable us to follow events with greater precision than before at some points, and I think it may be useful to give brief summaries of these documents here together with some comments indicating their significance.

The first of these documents is a letter from the Mughal Chancellor Asad Khan to Laurens Pit, the Dutch governor of Negapatam. The letter is dated 14th June 1692 and its Dutch translation is followed by an endorsement saying that it was collated at Negapatam and found correct by the first clerk Albert van Weede on the 29th January 1693. The following is a summary of this translation.

No. 543, dated 14th June 1692.

Letter of Asad Khan, father of Zulfikar Khan, and Mughal Chancellor. The Dutch Governor Laurens Pit is ordered to watch Rama Raja whose fall is imminent and who is seeking an occasion for flight. Pit is to stop his flight and capture him if possible which would please the Emperor (Aurangzeb) very much. The French and other nations are required to help Pit in this, failing which they would be punished by the Mughal Court. (Vol. IV, p. 10).

This order of Asad Khan was sought to be implemented by his son who in his turn issued an order in eleven copies to the persons in charge of the different coastal towns asking them to carry out the instructions of Laurens Pit on this account.[1] The English factory at Madras was obviously not included in this, for which there is no record of it in the *Madras Diary and Consultation Book* of 1692; there is a letter (p. 9) from Asad Khan himself to Elihu Yule of April 1692 to the same effect as the Chancellor's letter to Pit. These letters show how ignorant, or superbly indifferent Mughal diplomacy of the period was to the realities of the political conditions alike in India and Europe. In India, the Dutch governor Laurens Pit had been making strenuous efforts to gain the support of Rajaram in his designs against the French from 1690,[2] which was itself only a reflection of the hostilities in Europe between the Dutch and French which went on from 1689 to the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. Under such conditions to expect Pit to aid the Mughal forces against Rajaram and further to ask the French factors to help him to do so was a melancholy

1 Corpus, iv, pp. 10-11 *n.* 4.

2 Kaeppelin, p. 272.

exhibition of ignorance or ineptitude; and such were the officers of the grand Mughal when the empire was still apparently at the height of its strength and splendour.

The remaining five documents relate to the seige and capture of Pondicherry by the Dutch in 1693. The details may now be followed in the Memoirs of Martin and checked by the entries in the *Madras Diary and Consultation Book* of 1693 which records the important stages in the progress of the seige under August 21 (p. 123), August 28 (p. 128) and September 1 (p. 131). The negotiations of the Dutch with Rajaram, who was always in financial straits and eager to sell his friendship to the highest bidder, Martin's attempts to foil them, and the role of the Brahmin officers of the court of Jinji in these negotiations have been traced in considerable detail by the authorities already mentioned. Francois Martin received from Germain whom he had deputed to Jinji in 1693 a copy of a treaty nearly completed between the Dutch and Rajaram, and this treaty was an important step in the development of the Dutch plans against Pondicherry.[3] The following is a summary of this document as it appears in the Dutch version together with the contents of a letter from Pit to Batavia, dated 31st August 1693 reproduced in Stapel's introduction to the treaty:

No. 558, dated 27th August 1693:—Rama Raja, who styled himself king of Jinji, had allowed the French to fortify themselves in Pondicherry and to the north of Tegenepatam. During the Nine years' War, Pit (Jr.), the Dutch Governor, took steps to drive the French from the Coromandel coast, and gathered a force of 17 ships and 1,600 men in August 1693. The French sought Rama Raja's support and offered him 42,000 gold Pagodas.[4] The Dutch also started negotiations, but offered hardly half the sum offered by the French. Rama Raja played a waiting game for some time, but when Pit landed his troops and showed that he meant business, he concluded the following anti-French alliance with him. (Details from an unpublished letter of Pit dated 31st August to Batavia).

Preamble: We, Rama Raja, King of the Maratha people, Ruler of Jinji and Lord of many other lands, having seen the request and the desire of the Dutch Company (communicated to us by the Governor of Coromandel, Laurens Pit, Extraordinary Councillor of India) regarding the French, their enemies at Pondicherry (Puducheri) and their desire to attack them with weapons, have judged it proper to allow them to do so in the manner detailed in the following articles:

1. Dutch allowed to attack the French at Pondicherry by land and water without any hindrance.

2. A market or bazaar will be established in the army of the Dutch for sale of provisions and other requirements.

3. Promise to supply required number of horsemen and peons to Dutch Company on condition of their paying them.

4. Necessary Coolies for the work on siege operations to be supplied on payment; Rama Raja's representatives in the army held responsible for this and for reporting to him any shortcomings in this and other respects.

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[3] Kaeppelin p. 307. Martin, Memoires iii, p. 324.

[4] This is in contradiction to Martin's statements regarding his inability to find money to satisfy Rajaram's demands, iii, pp. 326. ff.

5. All property captured by the Dutch after they capture Pondicherry shall be theirs.

6. Puducheri, its fields, water courses, incomes, etc., made over to the Dutch.

7. Also the town of Virampatnam and the mouth of the river likewise.

8. Dutch Company permitted to mint Gold, silver, Copper, etc.

9. Toll free in all goods; no half-toll as in our lands.

10. Undertaking to protect Dutch in possession of Puducheri after they capture it, against attacks from French or other enemies.

11. (Last article). Recognition for himself and his heirs of Dutch Proprietorship of Puducheri (after they capture it from French) and Subedars, Havildars, etc., of Rama Raja not to cause them any trouble, but be friendly and helpful, and privileges granted by Sivaji extended to this place also. (See cowls of 15th July 1677, and 31 Jan. 1678 re—Tegenapatam).

In return, Company to pay 21,000[5] *Pulikat Pagodas* in three instalments—5,500 when the Company's army camps before Puducheri, 5,500 when the bazaar has been installed and coolies supplied as noted before; 10,000 when Puducheri has been captured. (ib. 58—61).

The clauses of the treaty speak for themselves and show clearly how much the Dutch depended on it for their supplies and Commissariat arrangements during the siege of Pondicherry. Martin's best efforts on the other hand proved of no avail, he had no friends near about, and after a week's heavy bombardment Pondicherry had to capitulate and a summary of the terms of the capitulation follows:

No. 559, dated 6—8, September 1693: Agreement between Francois Martin, Director General of the Royal French Company over the Coromandel, etc. and De La Rouche du Vigier (Commander) on the one side, and Hon'ble Laurens Pit encamped before Puducheri on the other *re* surrender of Puducheri:

1st. To surrender Puducheri fortress as it stood with its fortifications, ammunition, monies, merchandise, etc., to Laurens Pit.

2nd. The garrison, King's and Company's troops, and all officers to be allowed to retire next morning with military honours, colours flying, fuses lit etc., to the strand before the fortress where they will surrender arms and wait in convenient places for embarking to France at earliest opportunity.

3rd. They will be conveyed to Ceylon and Batavia in Dutch ships to await transport to Europe from there.

4th. Deserters from the Dutch to French excluded from the general terms. Inland soldiers and topasses to be allowed to go where they liked.

5th. All officers to transfer in good faith to the persons appointed by the Dutch all the ammunition, money, articles in their respective charges—and attest the transfer.

6th. All mines, fortifications, batteries to be faithfully pointed out.

7th. Arrangement re—civil propulation of Frenchmen, women and children.

8th. In case of Peace in Europe, Puducheri to be restored, though not the villages given to the Dutch by cowl from Native rulers.

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[5] Martin gives this figure as 25,000 pagodas.

9th. Regulation of the quantity of baggage to be taken by the garrison and the manner of their transport to Europe.

10th. Arrangement for Martin's family remaining in India (San Thome) for a year and to be carried there with his belongings in Dutch vessels. Batavia to be consulted.

11th. Priests of all denominations to be transported to Europe in Dutch vessels.

12th. Contract void if good faith is broken in the transfer of goods referred to in articles 1 and 5 above.

13th. Both sides agree to be bound by these articles in good faith and not circumvent them by fraud or for technical flaws. (ib. pp. 61—67).

The year 1693 was comparatively easy for Rajaram; Zulfikar Khan had been compelled to raise the siege of Jinji and withdraw to Wandiwash. And Rajaram used his relative freedom to assist the Dutch in their enterprise against Pondicherry in the manner noted above. After the fall of Pondicherry, he heard from Laurens Pit of his success and of some small differences with the local representative of Jinji, and the following is a summary of Rajaram's reply to the Dutch governor:

No. 560, dated 27th September 1693: Letter of Rama Raja in Marathi from Jinji to Laurens Pit. Your letter telling me of your success against French and their departure; and of your differences with Swamiosie Panditar regarding surrounding lands. Our friendship must continue unimpaired and I am sending instructions for clearing up the position and seeing that these differences do not recur. (ib. pp. 67-8).

Zulfikar Khan when he returned to the siege of Jinji, confirmed the Dutch in their privileges in Pondicherry which they had got from Rajaram as is evident from the next document summarised below:

No. 590, dated October 1695: Confirmation by Zulfikar Khan (who was besieging Rama Raja in Jinji) of Dutch rights in Puducheri and 13 neighbouring villages (named) in the province of Valdavur. Mughal officers forbidden to have any concern with these places. (*Ibid* pp. 119—21).

Lastly, for the sake of completeness, one more document from the collection may be summarised so as to give an idea of how the Peace of Ryswick was implemented with regard to Pondicherry and its neighbouring villages:—

No. 607, dated 13th September—2nd October, 1699: Stapel's introduction:— Article viii of the Peace of Ryswick required the Dutch to return to the French everything captured outside Europe during the war. And the agreement of Martin to ask for only the Castle of Puducheri and not the villages conveyed to the Dutch by cowl from native princes was not now heeded. But the authorities in India had their own accounts to settle; the Dutch had spent much in improving Pondicherry, and negotiations began for the 'Sale' of Pondicherry and after 6 months ended finally in the following agreement between Martin and Weitnaw (Dutch Commander of Puducheri) and others including Laurens Pit.

1st. Puducheri and all dependencies, including those the Dutch got from Rama Raja, to be surrendered to Martin without exception and without any pretences being reserved for future.

2nd. 16,000 Gold Pagodas, current coin, to be paid in three instalments, in lieu of all Dutch claims on these lands.

3rd. On payment of 8,000 pagodas, the Dutch should withdraw the watch kept at Cuddalore gate (of Pondi) and hand over the redoubt near Aryan Coopum.

4th. Dutch troops and officers to stay till 8th October on which day they will hand over to Martin the redoubts, Keys of gates, etc.

5th. From 8th October Martin to get control of trade, toll etc., of the Puducheri.

6th. Power of Attorney held from Negapatam to trade to be handed over to Martin by Weitnaw and Van der Burg.

7th. Undertaking to follow articles in good faith.

8th. Four copies to be made, two in each language, one set for French side and the other for Dutch.

The whole is dated 13th September and signed by Weitnaw and Martin among others.

An addendum dated 2nd October acknowledging payment of 8,000 pagodas and executing Article 3 above.

Approval of Governor General of Dutch India, dated 24th April 1700.

(ib. pp. 168—74).

SOME UNKNOWN EVENTS IN VENKOJI'S CAREER.

[By Dr. B.A. Saletore, M.A. Ph.D. (Lond.), D. Phil. (Giessen)]

While we have some details concerning Raja Venkoji's activities after his usurption of the throne of Tanjore we know practically little or nothing concerning his doings before that event, especially during the last years of his father Shahji's life and before Venkoji's drive to the south. It is the object of this paper to give a few details relating to this phase of Venkoji's life. The following remarks are mostly based on contemporary literary and epigraphic evidence.

Shahji had married two wives—Jījāvai or Jīāyi Jādhav by whom he had two sons, the elder Sambhāji, and the younger Sivāji; and Tukāji Mohite, the mother of Venkoji[1]. It is said that Shahji neglected Jijābai, and lavished all his affection and wealth on Tukābai and Venkoji[2]. Shahji transferred his allegiance in A.D. 1637 from the Imperial Mughal Government to that of the Bijapur Sultan, Muhammad Adil Shah. The latter, who was then planning a great expedition against Karnāṭaka under the leadership of Randullah Khan, promised to give Shahji certain *jagirs* in Karnāṭaka for his loyal service. These comprised the districts of Kolār, Bangalore, Hosakōte, Baḷḷāpura, and Sīra.[3]

Shahji possessed at his death not only the above districts but, as Grant Duff maintains, also the fortress of Arni, Porto Novo, and Tanjore as well[4]. Grant Duff, however, seems to entertain some doubts as regards the conquest of the last principality[5]. But Karnāṭaka tradition, as recorded by two later but reliable writers—Linganṇa and the Mysore ruler Kṛṣṇa Rāja Oḍeyar III,—ascribe its conquest to Shahji himself. According to Linganṇa, Shahji, who tried in vain to bring about a permanent reconciliation between the Bijapur Sultan (unnamed) and Sivāji, found that the latter was bent on his anti-Bijapur activities; and unable himself to face the angry Sultan, went to the south along with his son Enkoji (Venkoji), and captured the fortress of Cañji and Candāvūru in the neighbourhood of Madura[6]. Now we know that it was in 1662 that Shahji along with his son Venkoji visited Sivāji, and brought about the latter's reconciliation with the Bijapur Sultan.[7] That is to say, according to Linganṇa, Shahji's drive to the south is to be placed in 1662.

In the *Maisuru Rajara Vamsavali* said to have been written by Kṛṣṇa Rāja Oḍeyar III of Mysore, we have the following interesting account of the conquest of Tanjore by the Marathas:—Finding that owing to the prowess of the Mysore prince Kaṇṭhīrava, it was unsafe to live in Bangalore, Sivāji (which name in the *Vamsavali* is evidently an error for Shahji), marched to Tanjore where Vijaya Rāghava Nāyaka reigned. This ruler had become a devotee of a certain Telugu priest (unnamed), and renouncing his royal duties had assumed those of an ascetic. Shahji came to

[1]Sabhasad, p. 6; Duff, *History of the Marathas*, I, p. 98 (1918); Sarkar, *Sivaji and his Times*, p. 21, (2 ed.)

[2]Sarkar, *ibid.*

[3]Duff, *ibid*, pp. 95-96.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 163.

[5]*Ibid.*, p. footnote.

[6]Linganna, *Keladinripavijayam*, p. 151, According to the Muhammadan historians however, the capture of Ginjee is to be attributed to Mustafa Khan, the Bijapur commander-in-Chief, on December the 17th 1649. Sarkar, *ibid.*, pp. 39—41.

[7]Duff, *op. cit.*, I, p. 153.

know of this, and placing a few horsemen in Bangalore, he went to Tanjore, drove out Vijaya Rāghava Nāyaka, and laid the foundation of Maratha power in that city.[1] Since we know that Venkoji was the favourite son of Shahji, we have to assume that he accompanied his father in the latter's expedition to Tanjore. If king Kṛṣṇa Rāja Oḍeyar is to be trusted, the conquest of Tanjore was effected in A.D. 1662 when Vijaya Rāghava Nāyaka ruled.[2]

But we may note in the same breath that the conquest of Tanjore is generally attributed to Venkoji himself in 1676, when Vijaya Rāghava Nāyaka's young prince Sengamaldas ruled, the real power having been entrusted to the latter's general Alagiri. It is said that Venkoji defeated General Alagiri, and usurped the Tanjore throne for himself.[3]

Leaving this discrepancy between the tradition of the Kannaḍigas and that of the Tanjore rulers as embodied in a work called *Tanjavuruvaricaritra* aside for the present, we may pass on to the narration of a few facts concerning Venkoji himself. On Shahji's death, Sabhasad informs us, Venkoji received his father's *jagirs* from the Bijapur Sultan.[4] Shahji died in January 1664 while out a hunting in the village of Basvāpaṭṭaṇa on the banks of the Tungabhadra[5]. The Karnāṭaka districts, and, we may presume, Tanjore as well, thus passed into the hands of Venkoji in 1664. Students of Maratha history are aware of the claims which Sivāji put forward to these paternal estates, the consequent estrangement that followed between himself and Venkoji, and the successful endeavours of Sivaji in reducing Tanjore to subjection[6]. These events are placed after Sivāji's expedition to Ginjee and Vellore in 1677[7]. Duff asserts that it was in the same year 1677 that Sivāji took possession of Arni, Kolar, Bangalore, Hosakōṭe, Baḷḷāpura, and Sïra, *i.e.*, all the *jagirs* of Shahji, from Venkoji.[8]

Sir Jadunath Sarkar calls these principalities "No Man's Land"[9]. But that was not so. Every one of these principalities was under a *paleyagara* or chieftain of the Eḷehanka-nād Prabhu House. It is enough if we give two examples to prove our statement—Kolar and Bangalore. In Kolar ruled the Avati-nād Prabhus and the Sugatūr chieftains. Thus the cotemporary of Shahji was Immaḍi Baire Gauda of Avaṭi-nād in 1640 ; while the Sugaṭūr chieftain was Immaḍi Cikka Rāya Tammaya Gaudarayya in 1637 [10].

Without entering into the details as to how these Kolār chieftains were worsted by the Bijapur generals, we may pass on to the more interesting question of Marata rule over Kolār. A stone inscription dated only in the cyclic year Isvara, Kārttika, Bahula 12, which Rice correctly assigned to A.D. 1637, gives the name of the Maratha official placed over Kolar merely as *Srīmanta* Desakulakarni Sāmaṇṇa.[11] In 1653 the *Rajadhiraja Rajaraja* Sambhāji Rāja Mahārāja's son Kannarāyāji Pandita is said to have made a specified gift of land to some one whose name is effaced in the

[1] *Maisuru-Rajara Vamsavali*, I, p. 109 (Ed. by Ramakrishna Row, Mysore, 1916).
[2] Somasundram, *The Great Temple at Tanjore*, p. 74.
[3] Somasundaram, *ibid.*, p. 3.
[4] Sabahasad, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
[5] Duff, *op. cit.*, I, p. 163. Linganna, however, informs us that Shahji, while returning from the South to Bijapur, died of a disease in the neighbourhood of Sira. Linganna, *op. cit.*, pp.151-152.
[6] Sabhasad, *ibid.*, pp. 89, 91-92.
[7] Duff, *ibid.*, I, pp. 228, 230, 231, 233, 234.
[8] Duff, *ibid.*, p. 231.
[9] Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 348.
[10] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, X. Sd. 31, p. 133; Kl. 247, p. 69.
[11] *Ibid.*, X. Sd. 49, p. 185.

record[1]. The whole of the Kolār-Sīme in 1654 was under Kanayaya Pant, who is styled in the stone inscription of that date as the Agent (*karyakartta*) of the Emperor Sambhāji. It is interesting to observe the titles of Sambhāji as given in this record. They were the following—Srīmad Rājādhiraja Rājamānya Srī Sambhoji Rāja Mahārājarāyan.[2] That Kolar continued to be under Sambhāji is proved by another stone inscription dated A.D. 1660, which registers a gift by Srīmat Sembhāji (which is evidently an error for Sambhāji) Rāja to a certain Antarāji Pandita."[3].

Who was this Sambhāji referred to in the above records ? It could only have been the eldest son of Shahji. But later Maratha tradition maintains that Sambhāji fell in 1649 in an attack on Kanakagiri which Shahji carried by assault.[4] If the contemporary stone inscriptions are true, then, it cannot be that Sambhāji died in A.D. 1649. Indeed, we have reason to believe that he continued to rule over Kolar for many years afterwards.

But in about 1662 the governorship of that district was placed under Venkoji This is proved by a stone epigraph dated only in the cyclic year Subhakrt, Caitra Suddha 5, but correctly assigned by Rice to A.D. 1662. In this record we are told that during the *regime* of Venkoji Raja [*srimatu Enkoja Rajara aulwike (ya) li*] the *havaldar* in charge of the fortress of Rahadurga was called Bārānāji Rāya.[5]

Venkoji seems to have governed the Kolār district only for a very short time, for in the next year 1663 Sambhāji again appears as the governor of Kolār. The stone inscription which gives us this and other details, clearly says that Srīmad Rājādhirāja Rāja Srī Sambhāji Rāja Sāheb gave a specified gift of land to a certain citizen (named) in that year.[6] According to the above stone inscriptions, therefore, Sambhāji was placed over Kolar from 1653 till 1663 with a break of about a year (1662), when Venkoji was appointed as its governor.

Let us now turn to Bangalore. Within the jurisdiction of this district of Bangalore were Doḍḍa Baḷḷāpura (the Ballapur of the Maratha historians) and Devanahalli—two small fiefs which again the Āvati-nād Prabhus had founded in the sixteenth century.[7] Sambhāji's viceroyalty extended over Dodda Ballāpura as well. This is proved by a stoned record dated 1647 which mentions Sambhāji as governing over Dobba Ballāpura.[8] Ten years later in 1657 Sāhu Rāja appears as the governor of Bangalore. He is given the following titles in a stone inscription of 1657—Ajāraka Khān, Mahārāja, Rāja Srī Sāhu Rāja Sāheb.[9] In 1660 the Maratha viceroy is called merely Rājādhirāja Khāvana Saheb-ayya.[10] It cannot be made out to whom this name refers. In the next year 1661 Dundoji Haipati Rāya the son of Bāloji Haipati Rāya, was the official placed over the Cannapattana tāluka of the same Bangalore district, according to a stone record of that date.[11]

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[1] *Epigraphia Carnatica* X, Mb., 154, p. 111.

[2] *E.* C. X. Kl. 193, p. 60, text, p. 68.

[3] *Ibid.*, Kl. 176, p. 57.

[4] Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 42.

[5] *E. C.* X. Sd. 47, p. 185.

[6] *Ibid.*, Kl. 219, p. 63.

[7] *Ibid.*, IX. Intr., p. 26.

[8] E. C., IX. D. B. 28, p. 64.

[9] *Ibid.*, IX. Nl. 69. p. 46.

[10] *Ibid*, IX. Cp. 26, p. 139.

[11] *Ibid.*, IX. Cp. 68, p. 145.

Excepting in one record cited above, Venkoji does not figure in the list of viceroys placed over the Kolār and Bangalore districts. Sabhasad tells us that he was in Candāvuru.[1] In 1676 we know that Venkoji confirmed the grant of Negapatam to the Dutch.[2] But in the next year (1677), as related above, he had lost all his paternal *jagirs* in Karnātaka which Sivāji had conquered from him.[3] Sir Jadunath Sarkar tells us that in 1678 Venkoji received back all the Karnātaka *jagirs* from Sivāji.[4] It was obviously due to the reconciliation brought about between the brothers by Venkoji's wife Dīpabai, as is alleged in the *Sivadigvijaya-bakhar*.[5]

Venkoji was now firmly planted on the throne of Tanjore. His claims over the Karnātaka *jagirs*, which he had received as a gift from Sivāji, were now melting into thin air. For in the neighbourhood of these *jagirs* had arisen one of the most celebrated of Karnātaka rulers, and one of the most formidable enemies of the Marathas. This was the famous king of Mysore Cikka Deva Rāya, who reigned from 1672 till 1704.[6] A very elaborate copper-plate grant of this monarch dated in 1686 informs us that that ruler scored a number of victories over the Marathas. We are told in that record that "As formerly of Hari incarnate of Rāma, subdued (that) Khara Dūsana and other giants, so (now) did he, incarnate as Cikka Deva, subdue in Pañcavati Dādoji, Jaitāji, and others in the form of Marāthas. Sambhu lost his valour....Ekoji was deserted by all, when the mighty Cikka Deva Rāja, having slain Dādoji, having cut off all the limbs and slit the noses of Jaitāji and Jasavanta, set forth for war."[7]

This defeat inflicted on Venkoji by Cikka Deva Rāja seemed to have followed the latter's great victory over Sivaji himself. We infer this not only from the above record dated 1686 in which in an earlier context Cikka Deva Rāya is described as having "put to flight Anantoji", then to have defeated the Marathas of Pañcavati (which was evidently Nasik), and, finally, to have won the victories mentioned above over Sambhu and Venkoji, but also from a later record dated 1772 which expressly tells us that Cikka Deva Raya first defeated Sivāji and then Sambhu and Venkoji. "When, taking to be Māyā, or Sambara, or the son of Rāvana (Indrajit) the rulers of the countries around Agra, Delhi, and Bhāgānagara had with fear brought tribute and placed it before him saying, 'Victory! My Lord!', and thus swollen with pomp the famous Sivāji came, he (*i.e.* Cikka Deva Rāja) humbled his pride and gained the title of *apritma-vira*. Sambhu's valour came to a stop, Kutupu-Shah lost all hope, even Ikkeri Basava was disgraced, Ekoji was deserted by all, when the mighty Cikka Deva Rāya, having slain Dādoji, and cut off all the limbs and slit the noses of Jaitāji and Jasavanta, set forth for war."[8]

We have now to identify the generals mentioned in the above records, and incidentally verify the statements referring to Venkoji, by adducing contemporary literary evidence in support of our assertions. The three Maratha generals mentioned above, *viz.*, Dādoji Jaithāji, and Jasavanta, were the commandants under Venkoji stationed in the different quarters of Karnātaka. We prove this from the writings

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[1] Sabhasad, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

[2] Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, II, p. 1347.

[3] Duff, *op. cit.*, T. p. 231, *op cit.*

[4] Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

[5] Parasnis, *Aitihasika Sangraha*, I, pp. 37-39, Duff, *ibid.*, I, p. 234.

[6] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 126.

[7] *E. C.* III, Sr. 14, p. 11.

[8] *Ibid.*, Sr. 64, p. 20.

of one of the court-poets of King Cikka Deva Rāya by name Tirumalāryya (1645—1706).[1] This well-known Kannada author wrote a work called *Apratimaviracaritra* in honour of king Cikka Deva Rāya, one of whose titles was, as related above, *Apratimavira* which he secured after his victory over Sivaji. Tirmularyya informs us in this work, that Venkoji had placed Esavanta (*i.e.*, Jasavanta) over Posavūru (Hosavūru, or Hosūru), while at Dharamapuri were stationed Haraji, Jaitāji and Dādāji.[2] On the strength of the record dated 1686 cited above, it may be maintained that it was in that year that Cikka Deva Rāya won victories over Dādāji, Jaitāji, and Jasabanta.

In the next year (1687), according to the later work *Maisururajaravamsavali*, Cikka Deva Rāya conquered the remaining strongholds under Venkoji-Hosuru itself, Kandikere, Tyāgamaṇḍala, Sankhagiri, Manugoṇḍe, Vāmalūru, and Dharmapuri.[3] If we accept 1687 as the date of the foundation of the Tanjore principality by Venkoji,[4] then, it may be conjectured that that ruler counterbalanced the loss of his father's Karnātaka *jaqirs* by the establishment of a richer principality in Tanjore where his successors continued to rule for nearly 179 years.[5].

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[1] *Karnataka Kavi-carite*, II, p. 461.

[2] Triumalaryya, *Apratimaviracaritra*, pp. 75, 83, (Mysore 1931).

[3] *Maisururajaravamsavali*, I, p. 107.

[4] *Cf.* Somasundaram, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[5] Somasundaram, *ibid.*, p. 3.

WHEN DID SIVAJI START HIS CAREER OF INDEPENDENCE ?

(By Mr. D. V. Apte, B.A.)

Two different approaches are usually made to the problem. One is that Shivaji was crowned in 1674 A.D. and consequently the date of this Coronation must be regarded as the first day of Shivaji's independent career ; and since there is no ambiguity regarding this date, the starting point of Shivaji's independence is not a problem at all.

The other approach would be on the lines of the statements in the Bakhars. Chitnis, for example, definitely asserts that Shivaji began his political career when he was only twelve years of age. If we are to believe the account in Shivdigwijaya Shivaji was an uncommonly precarious boy and refused to salam the Bijapur emperor in his seventh year. It was even then that he slew a butcher with his sword for the sake of rescuing a cow.

None of these views, I am afraid, will stand the test of a proper scrutiny.

The Coronation ceremony was obviously a formal declaration or rather an open assertion of Sovereignty, the final touch to the achievement and not the beginning of Shivaji's independent career. We must, therefore, trace our way backwards to find out the first stage of that important aspect in his life.

For full four years before 1674 A.D. Shivaji was engaged in waging war not only against the Mughals but against the Bijapur Sultan as well. He must have been therefore an independent power already in 1670 A.D. It is true that before 1670 Shivaji conducted himself, to all outward appearance at least, as a vassal of the Mughals for 5 years. But this subordinate position was imposed upon him by his treaty with Jaysingh in 1665 A.D. which again came in the wake of a few years of trouble that Shivaji gave to the Mughals as an open enemy. In fact the sack of Surat in 1664 and the attack on Shaistakhan in 1663 can not be otherwise construed and are unmistakable proofs of Shivaji's status as an independent political authority. The Mughals themselves have left a landmark of their own recognition of Shivaji's independence from Bijapur and it is in the form of a letter addressed by Aurangzeb himself to Shivaji.

Aurangzeb's letter to Shivaji on the 23rd April 1657 A.D. (Raj Vol. 8 ; No. 5) clearly states that Shivaji was to retain the forts that he had already seized from the Bijapur Kingdom and was to add some new forts like Dabhole in the Konkan. A careful reading of contemporary letters definitely points to the conclusion that in 1657 Shivaji was already regarded as a rebel against the Sultan of Bijapur his former liege lord and that Aurangzeb wanted to use him in his war against that state. Thus a study of Shivaji's relations with the Mughals can indicate, at best, one extreme limit only. For ascertaining the exact year we must explore further not the Mughal system, but the Bijapur system in which apparently Shivaji was originally a planet ; that is to say we must find out when he ceased to be a vassal of the Bijapur Court, or, in other words when the Bijapur Court openly styled him as a rebel.

Bakhars, as already mentioned, state that Shivaji was removed from Bijapur to Poona by Shahaji because even as a boy Shivaji could not be forced to observe the formalities at the Bijapur Court. But we can not depend upon the statements in the Bakhars which were written more than a century after the demise of Shivaji and take this as the beginning of his independence.

Shiva-Bharat contemporary epic poem, says that Shivaji was sent by Shahaji from Bangalore to Poona when he was twelve years of age offering this as another probable occasion for the same event. Sabhasad Bakhar adds its own weight to this supposition by stating that Dadoji Kondadeo brought him to Poona along with Jijabai. But it is known that at Poona Shivaji was under the supervision of Dadoji up to 1647 A.D. and that it was only after Dadoji's death that he was obliged to act on his own initiative in the management of Shahaji's Jagir on the Poona side. His capture of Kondhana or Sinhagad in 1647, presumably after Dadoji's death (Shivacharitra Pradeep ; page 55) may thus become a crucial point in this discussion and is as yet an unsolved problem. We do not know in what capacity Shivaji took possession of the fort. If Shivaji simply wanted to step into Dadoji's position who was undoubtedly acting as a specially appointed Subhedar of Shahaji at Kondhana, his action ought not to have created any row at the Bijapur Court. And if the appointment of the successor to Dadoji did not rest with Shahaji but with the Bijapur Court then Shivaji's seizure of Sinhagad was certainly an objectionable procedure. But the point seems probably to have been ambiguous and Shivaji might have taken advantage of this ambiguity. Whatever the facts in this particular episode may be we can not however accept as true, the statement of the Bakhars that Shahaji was imprisoned at this time because of his son Shivaji's acting as a rebel on the Poona side. Shiva-Bharat and Muhammad Nama (both contemporary works) definitely assert that Shahaji was imprisoned for his insubordination to the Bijapuri general Mustafa Khan ; and Shivaji was forced to give up the fort of Sinhagad to Bijapur authorities for securing the release of his father Shahaji. This clearly proves that up to 1647 at least when Shahaji was released Shivaji obeyed the orders of his father ; that is, he was acting as his agent in administrative matters.

For full 6 years after this Shivaji seems to be acting in the same capacity. More than 20 original and contemporary papers are available in Marathi (Raj. XV, XX and Shiva-Charitra Sahitya) supporting this view. Two of them deserve special mention. It seems that Neelkantharao died in 1654 A.D. and his sons approached Shivaji who was at Poona for the continuance of the Jagir in connection with the management of Purandar fort. Shivaji reported the whole matter to Shahaji who was in Karnatak as one would report to one's legitimate superior and Shahaji issued the necessary orders to Neelkantharao's sons. A separate letter of assurance by Shivaji also is available. These letters (Shiva-Charitra Sahitya Nos. 87 and 88) go to prove that Shivaji was acting only as the agent of Shahaji upto 1654 A.D.

A careful perusal also of the available Marathi letters relating to Shahaji and Shivaji discloses the same fact from another angle of vision. Thus the important fact that Shahaji's orders to officers of the Poona and Supa Districts are available only upto the end of 1655 A.D. is worth considering. While we have scores of letters, by Shahaji to officers of the Poona District before 1655, *i.e.*, between 1636 and 1655, we have not got a single letter by Shahaji after the 6th December 1655 (Shi. Cha. Sahi. No. 140).

The fact is significant. It is just possible that it might be indicative of the virtual assumption of independence by Shivaji after 1655 A.D. Shahaji was a nobleman of the Bijapur Court and his loyalty to the Court there would not allow him to carry on correspondence with Shivaji or issue orders to officers at Poona who were henceforth acting under Shivaji.

We know from the Jedhe Chronicle that Shivaji captured the Raigad and several other forts and changed their names (*i.e.*, substituted Sanskrit names for Persian ones) in 1656. An original mahajar written on the 21st March 1657 (Raj. XVII, No. 10) gives names of 8 ministers Peshwa, Sabnis, Surnis, Sarnaubat, etc., at the

Court of Shivaji, another evidence of growing independence. We can therefore assert that 1656 A.D. must be regarded as the beginning of Shivaji's independent career.

But we need not depend upon merely deductive evidence. We have a more positive proof also. Among the papers that were available at the historical exhibition in the B. I. S. M. at Poona in 1938 several persian farmans were seen in the collection of a gentleman from Hyderabad Deccan. One of them dated 4 Ramjan Hijri 1068, *i.e.*, 27tñ May 1658 A.D. was issued by Ali Adilshah to Shahaji. It was read and explained by Mr. G. H. Khare the Curator of the Mandal before the members of the fortnightly meeting on 9th August 1939. The farman purports to state that Shahaji need not worry himself about the objectionable conduct of his son Shivaji, because the Court knows Shahaji to be a loyal servant, etc.

This clearly goes to prove that Shivaji was known to be a rebel at the Court of Bijapur before 1658 A.D.

We can therefore take the year 1656 as very nearly the beginning of Shivaji's career of Independence.

HISTORICAL SETTING OF A GRIEVOUS EPISODE—TRAGEDY OF MASTANI

(By Mr. Vasant Dinanath Rao, M.A., LLB.,)

I have attempted in this paper to present a brief account of a tragic episode from the Maratha history—the romance of Bajeerao and Mastani—as revealed by the authentic historical records of the Peshwa period. The accounts, hitherto published of Mastani, the famous mistress of the illustrious peshwa Bajeerao Ballal, are mostly based on imaginative and conjectural material, no attempt having been made so far to explore the mines of historical records throwing light on the incidents of her life. I have tried to glean from the available historical records and meagre though the light thrown by these on her life may be, it will help to understand and appreciate properly the role played by this lady in the life of one of the greatest personalities of the Maratha history.

Origin of Mastani:—

The origin of Mastani is shrouded in mystery. No less than three theories about her origin are current and it would be worth our while to examine each of these in the light of historical material supporting it.

(1) According to the first theory, Mastani was a courtezan in the keep of a Muslim sardar, Shahjatkhan[1] by name. She was found by Bajeerao's brother Chimaji Appa while attempting to commit suicide by swallowing poison and was dissuaded from the suicidal attempt by him on his assurance that his brother Bajeerao would accept her as his mistress on his return from Bundelkhand. The solitary piece of historical evidence in support of this theory is the account given in Peshwas' Bakhar[2]. In the absence of any further historical corroboration of this account and there being very little evidence as to who was this Shahjatkhan and how Chimaji Appa happened to come across his courtezan, this theory is hardly acceptable.

(2) According to the second theory, Mastani was the daughter of the Nizam who on the advice of his wife presented her to Bajeerao after performing a mock ceremony of her marriage with a dagger (Khanjeer), hoping thereby to promote the diplomatic relations with the Marathas. This theory has for its basis an account contained in a letter embodied in Kavyetihas sangraha[3]. This too, like the previous one, is not supported by any further historical evidence and hence not worthy of much credit.

(3) The third and universally accepted theory is that Mastani was either a courtezan at the darbar of King Chhatrasal of Bundelkhand or his illegitimate daughter (probably the latter) and that she was given to Bajeerao by Chhatrasal as a token of gratitude for the signal services rendered by the former to the latter in repelling the invasions of Mohmedkhan Bangash on Bundelkhand. This theory is corroborated by an account given in a Marathi bakhar[4]. Pogson[5] and General Briggs[6] support this theory. Rao Bahadur Parasnis[7] refers to a genealogical account got directly from the descendants of Mastani as supporting this theory. Pandit

[1] According to Peshwanchi Bakhar (Sohani) Shahjatkhan was a sardar of the Delhi Emperor sent against Nizam.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Kavyetihas Sangraha, Patre, Yadi vagaire, page 499.

[4] An old Maratha Bakhar of 1836, quoted by Parasnis.

[5] Pogson's Boondelas, page 108 (Published 1828).

[6] Family accounts of the Peshwa Sardars by General Briggs, Resident of Satara. (1821). Quoted by Parasnis in Bharatwarsha Aitihasik Chandra, page 90.

[7] Genealogical Table of the Peshwa Family including its Mohomedan Branch of Banda.

Kalidas in his Nibandha Chandrika[1] alludes to an old history of Bundelkhand written in Urdu as giving a similar account of the origin of Mastani. Unfortunately this Urdu book is not available. This theory is thus supported by historical evidence as well as by common tradition. It must however be accepted with caution in the absence of substantial direct historical evidence.

In addition to the above theories about the origin of Mastani, I propose to put forth a new theory of her origin, which has for its basis an account contained in a letter found in the Peshwa Daftar.[2] This letter is unsigned and the identity of its writer cannot be ascertained therefrom. From its language and phraseology, it appears to have been written to Bajeerao by some Muhammadan (possibly a slave dealer). It is suggested by this letter that Mastani was a slave girl either purchased or taken forcibly by Bajeerao from some slave dealer. This new theory is indeed, a highly speculative one, based as it is on an unsigned and obscure letter. This is quite plausible, however, if we look to the social conditions of the time which allowed slave trafficking (regulated, of course, by certain rules). Some of the letters from the Peshwa Daftar throw much interesting light on the slave trade of the time.[3]

Whatever be the origin of Mastani, she had undoubtedly entered into Bajeerao's life some time in 1729 or 1730. The earliest reference to her in the historical records is to be found in a letter dated 14th February 1730,[4] containing a statement about the costs of dresses presented to Mastani on the occasion of the marriage of Nanasaheb (Bajeerao's eldest son). In 1733 or 1734, Mastani bore a son to Bajeerao who was named Samsher Bahadur. There is no direct evidence of the date or year of Samsher's birth, but it can be ascertained from certain old sources[5] that he died at the battle of Panipat in 1761 at the age of twenty-seven. Computing backwards from this year, we get 1734 as the year of Samsher's birth. The birth of Samsher was an important landmark in the life of Mastani in as much as it brought about an amelioration in her status in the Peshwa family. This is seen from the fact that a separate apartment for the residence of Mastani was built in the Peshwa's palace in 1736.[6] Mastani at this time seems to have enjoyed a status of equality with Bajeerao's lawful wife Kashibai, as can be inferred from a letter written by Baburao Ram Fadnis (father of the famous Nana Fadnis) stating that no distinction was made between Kashibai and Mastani.[7]

For some years (upto the beginning of the year 1739 to be precise) things went on smoothly and the domestic peace of the Peshwa family remained unruffled in spite of the presence of Mohammadan mistress in the Palace. Clouds however began to gather on the horizon, threatening the domestic tranquillity of the Peshwa household when about the middle of 1739, there began talks about the celebration of the thread ceremony of Raghunath and marriage of Sadashivrao. Bajeerao had been for many years past leading a licentious life freely indulging in the strictly forbidden vices of drinking and eating flesh and openly associating with a Mohammadan mistress. These licentious habits of Bajeerao, the result of the long and constant contact with the pleasure loving people of the north were so far connived at. But

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[1] Nibandha Chandrika by Pandit Kalidas, published 1884.

[2] Peshwa Dafter, Vol. 9, letter 36.

[3] Peshwa Dafter, Vol. 42, Letter 16 and Vol. 43, Letter 51.

[4] *Ibid.* Vol. 30, letter 353.

[5] Pogson's Boondelas page, 108. Family accounts of Peshwa Sardars by General Briggs.

[6] Pant-Pradhan Shakawali page, 6.

[7] Peshwa Dafter, Vol. 18, letter 12.

now when the priestly class of Poona was consulted in the matter of the proposed thread and marriage ceremonies at Peshwas' house, they took this opportunity of strongly protesting against the unorthodox and licentious course of the voluptuous enjoyments pursued by Bajeerao and flatly refused to associate with him in any religious ceremonies.

Trouble began for Mastani now ; for the whole blame for Bajeerao's licentiousness was thrown on the head of Mastani by the elderly members of Peshwa family. Chimaji Appa and Nanasaheb believing the licentiousness of Bajeerao to be due to his contact with Mastani[1] saw no other way of ending the deadlock but to separate Mastani from Bajeerao. The first step in this direction was taken by placing sentries round the apartments of Mastani to make it impossible for her to have access to Bajeerao.[2] Bajeerao thereupon left Poona and went to Patas.[3] Mastani, however seems to have managed to escape from her palace on about 24th November 1739 and joined Bajeerao at Patas.[4]

Matters stood thus when the Maratha Sardar Mahadajeepanta for whom Bajeerao entertained high regard, was dispatched to Patas by Bajeerao's mother to persuade him to give up his licentious mode of life.[5] Mahadajee succeeded in persuading Bajeerao to send Mastani back to Poona.[6] It also appears that Bajeerao took a vow not to drink.[7] This did not, however, improve matters. Bajeerao was ill at ease on account of his separation from Mastani[8] and still persisted in the wild course of debauchery. Chimaji in a letter to Nanasaheb disgustingly refers to the growing licentiousness of Bajeerao and suggested that nothing short of total removal of Mastani would remedy matters.[9] It appears that Mastani though sent to Poona, was communicating with Bajeerao.[10] She was again interned in the palace and all communications between her and Bajeerao were stopped.[11] Bajeerao, smitten with pangs of separation, promises to give up drinking if Mastani is restored to him,[12] Chimaji Appa, however, has no longer any faith in such promises of Bajeerao and feels sure that Bajeerao's remaining with Mastani would, instead of improving matters make them worse.[13]

By the beginning of the year 1740 it appears to have been finally resolved by Chimaji Appa and Nanasaheb to take steps to bring about a complete separation between Bajeerao and Mastani.[14] Mastani was still under a strict watch and she seems to have even gone on a hunger strike as a protest against her confinement.[15] Nanasaheb in a letter[16] to Chimaji Appa intimates to him of her hunger strike and asks for further instructions as to how he should proceed in the matter. It appears that they had decided upon arresting her and Chimaji instructs Nanasaheb to gain her confidence to facilitate her arrest.[17]

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[1] Peshwa Dafter Vol. 9, letter 30.
[2] Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. 6 Purandare Rojanishi by Rajawade, page 30.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Aitihasik Charchya, Itihas Sangraha, pages 9, 8, 11.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Peshwa Dafter, Vol. 9, letter 35.
[9] Peshwa Dafter, Vol. 9 letter 30.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] Peshwa Dafter, Vol. 9, letter 31.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] Peshwa Dafter, Vol. 30, letter 334.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] Satara Papers, Vol. 2, letter 275. Aitihasik Charcha Itihas Sangraha, page 10.

While Mastani's arrest was under contemplation by Nanasaheb and Chimaji, King Shahu who seems to have been informed of the plan, warned them through the royal secretary Govind Khanderao Chitnis against taking such drastic measures.[1] Shahu does not seem to hold Mastani responsible for Bajeerao's licentiousness and forbids harm being done to her.[2] He indeed advised the restoration of Mastani to Bajeerao.[3] Inspite of this royal warning Nanasaheb arrested Mastani in the Parvati gardens and arranged to keep her in close confinement in the Palace.[4] It seems that it was originally planned to keep her confined in some distant and inaccessible fort which indicates that Nanasaheb and Chimaji apprehended Bajeerao's intervention.[5] Nanasaheb informs Chimaji about the arrest of Mastani by a letter dated 26th January 1740.[6] This letter throws a good deal of light on the circumstances of Mastani's arrest and the plans of Nanasaheb and others in this respect. Nanasaheb's statement in the letter to the effect that no force had to be used at the time of her arrest indicates the preparedness on his part to have resort to violence if necessary in effecting the arrest.[7] The assurance given by Nanasaheb in the same letter that she (Mastani) would not be put to death suggests the extent to which they were prepared to go in carrying out their plan.[8] Nanasaheb however was afraid that the repercussions of this step on Bajeerao might be so strong as to drive him to attempt to force her release[9] or commit suicide.

All this was being planned when Bajeerao was still away from Poona. Even though it was quite possible to force the liberation of Mastani by resort to armed force, he wisely abstained from such a step preventing thereby the sowing of seeds of domestic strife and civil war. Nanasaheb and Chimaji as remarked above did in fact apprehend a move in this direction from him.[10] Even Mastani had similar apprehensions, but she gave a solemn promise to Nanasaheb not to leave the palace without his permission.[11]

This forced separation of Mastani from Bajeerao, however, failed to appease the Brahmin priests of Poona who stoutly refused to officiate at the thread and marriage ceremonies at the Peshwas' house while Bajeerao was present. In the circumstances these ceremonies had to be performed in his absence in February 1740. This was too much for Bajeerao who was already deeply afflicted by Mastani's separation and in sheer disgust and dispair he made for Burhanpur on 7th March 1740.[12]

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[1] Peshwa Dafter, Vol. 9, letter 32.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Aitihasik Charcha Itihas Sangraha, page 12 (Mastanicha Shewat).

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Itihas Sangraha, Aitihasik Tipane.

[12] Panta pradhan Shakawali page 7. Peshwa Dafter, Vol. 9, letter 37.

Chimaji Appa now realized the futility of the forced separation between Bajeerao and Mastani and advised Nanasaheb to release Mastani and send her to Bajeerao.[1] This advice was not however, immediately acted upon by Nanasaheb who instead of sending Mastani, sent Kashibai (Bajeerao's wife) to him. The strain of mental agonies was too great for Bajeerao who had a sudden breakdown while on the bank of the river Narbada and died three days later.[2] Fate willed that the life of this great Peshwa, to whom the great Maratha empire owed much of its glories should end in an unrelieved tragedy; even he was denied the comfort of having by his side during his last moments his beloved mistress for whom it may be said with truth he sacrificed his life. Mastani was released from her captivity and allowed to proceed to meet Bajeerao;[3] but it was too late. She received the news of Bajeerao's death on her way, at Pabal, about 30 miles away from Poona. The shock was too great for her and she died immediately on the receipt of the grievous news. It is not known how Mastani met her end; she might have died of heart-failure or might have committed suicide by swallowing the poison ring which the ladies of those days always used to carry about their persons. The fact of her end at Pabal is, however, corroborated by her tomb which can still be seen at the village. Thus ended this tragic episode in the life of one of the greatest soldiers of Maratha period.

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[1] Peshwa Dafter, Vol. 9 letter 33.

[2] Peshwa Dafter Vol. 22, letter 146. Panta Pradhan Shakawali, page 7.

[3] Peshwa Dafter Vol. 9, letter 33.

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District Town Panchayat of Ancient Bengal.

[By Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar, M.A, Ph.D.]

At present no traces of the old Pañchayat system are found anywhere in Bengal, and it is believed that it was never prevalent in this Province. The find of the Damōdārpur and kindred copper plate inscriptions forces us—however to re-consider this matter. The Damōdārpur Plates are five in number, and are all connected with the *Vishaya* or District of Kōtivarsha and the *Bhukti* or Province of Pundravardhana has been identified with Māhāsthān in the Bōgra District and Kōtivarsha with Bāngarh in the Dināǰpur District, Bengal. Now, it is worthy of note that these records register the orders of the *Adhikarna* of the Kotivarsha *adhisthana* to certain village officials in regard to the conveyance of certain lands. Let us in the first place determine the exact sense of these terms. First what is an *adhikarana* ? It is generally taken in the sense of 'a Court of Law' or 'administration of Justice'. But this seems to be the narrow sense of the term. In 1903-04 when T. Bloch excavated Basarh, the ancient Vaisāli, he lighted upon many seals of the early Gupta period, bearing such legends *as Kumaramaty-adhikaranasya, Bal-adhikaranasya, Sri-ranabhandaggar-adhikaranasya, Dandapas-adhikaranasya* and so forth and so on.[1] This shows that the term *adhikarana* was used in the sense of *Kacchari* or *Kachhari*, 'a town-house', 'an—office for transacting public business. that is, 'any court of administration, judicial, customary, ecclesiastical or military. Let us now see what court of administration is referred to in the Damōdārpur Plates. It is true that most of these Plates have lost their original seals. Fortunately one has been preserved which clearly calls it *Kotivarsh-adhishthan-adhikarana*, that is, 'Office of the District Town of Kōtivarsha'. This shows that *adhishthana* here denotes the principal town of a district, in this particular case, the district town of Kōtivarsha. Let us proceed one step further. In all these plates except one the personnel of the Town Board has been specified. To take the earliest two of them, they refer themselves to the reign of Kumāragupta and are dated 442-43 and 447-48 A.D. Further, this Board is mentioned as being composed of Vétravarman as president and Dhritipāla, Bandhumitra, Dhirtimitra and Sāmbapāla as constituent members. Five members thus constituted this Board; in other words, it was a vertiable *Panchayat*. The president of this Board, as we have just seen, was Vetravarman, who was a Kumārāmātya by designation but who was appointed, we are told, by Chirātadatta who was the *Upari* or Governor of the Pundravardhana *Bhukti* or Province. He was thus a nominee of the state. But what about the other members of the Board ? The first of these, Dhritipāla, was the Nagara-sreshthin ; the second, Bandhumitra, Sārtthavāha ; the third, Dhritimitra, Prathama Kulika ; and the fourth, Sāmbapāla, Prathama-Kāyastha. Of these the Nagarasreshthin has survived in the modern Nagarsheth of Gujarāt. "In all the chief centres of trade" says the Bombay Gazetteer[2] "some of the leading Vānia capitalists, under the name of mahājans or great men, form a merchant guild. The guild fixes the rates of exchange and discount, and levies fees on certain transactions, spending the proceeds on humane and religious objects. The head of their community, the nagarsheth or city merchant, was formerly a man of much power and importance, though of late years, with the dacay of his functions, his influence has been much reduced." This clearly shows that up till some time ago, the nagarāsreshthin was the head of all the artisan guilds of the district town. And this suits here exceedingly well. As regards Sartthavaha it is scarcely neccessary to point out that the term denotes

[1] *A.S.I., An. Rep.*, 1903-04, pp. 170 and ff.
[2] Vol. IX. Pt. I, pp. 95-96; Hopkin's *India Old and New*, pp. 178-79.

the leaders of caravans. Those who have read the *Buddhist India* of the late Prof. Rhys Davids need not be told that even in the sixth century B.C. "there were merchants who conveyed their goods either up and down the great rivers, or along the coasts in boats; or right across country in carts travelling in caravans. These caravans, long lines of small two-wheeled carts, each drawn by two bullocks, were a distinctive feature of the times..... There were taxes and octroi duties at each different country entered; and a heavy item in the cost was the hire of volunteer police who let themselves out in bands to protect caravans against robbers on the way."[1] India seems to have hardly changed in this respect up till a century ago, the only difference being that the original Sārtthavāhas were later on known as Vanjārās or Labānās. These last "were the great travelling traders and carriers of Central India, the Deccan and Rājputānā; and under the Afghān and Mughal empires were the commissariat of the imperial forces."[2] It will thus be seen that the Nagara-sreshthin represented the special industries of the District and the internal mercantile dealings, and Sārtthavāha the external commercial intercourse between province and province and country and country. We have now to consider the full significance of the phrase Prathama-Kulika. Katyāyana, the author of a Smiriti, says in one place: *Kulanam tu samuhastu Ganah sa parikirtitah*, "Gana is an aggregation of clans.[3]" It seems that originally when a Gana or a tribe conquered some territory, the different Kulas constituting it divided the land among themselves. Every Kula has its autonomy, such *e.g.* as the Sākya-kula; and the several Kulas confederated themselves into the tribal oligarchy or Gana such *e.g.*, as the Lichchhavi Gana[4]. Kulas were thus petty Zemindaries, and their heads were styled Kulikas. There can be no doubt that up till later times the Kulas played some part in fiscal administration in different provinces. It is a well-known fact that when the grant of land or village is made by a king, the copper-plate charter generally specifies a list of officials and also of peoples who are likely to be connected with the adminstration of the grant or in any way affected by it. Now if we take any one of the plates published by Prof. J. Ph. Vogel in *Antiquities of Chamba state.*[5] we find that after the specification of the state officials mention is made of Khasa Kulikas. The same is the case with the copper-plate grants of the Pāla kings of Bengal. They too specifiy first the state officials and make mention thereafter not only of the Khasa, but also the Gauda, Mālava and Hūna, Kulikas.[6] But that the Kulikas cut a more important figure in the Gupta period may be seen also from the fact that several seals of Kulikas have been found in the excavations of Basarh, such as those of Kulika-Nāgadatta, Kulika-Hari, Kulika-Omabhatta.[7] What is further noteworthy is that there has been picked up at least one seal from Basarh where with the individual name Hari is coupled not simply Kulika but rather Prathama Kulika,[8] showing that this Hari was the first and foremost of the Kulikas of Vaisāli. Kular or clans seem to have been further divided into Kutumbas or families. The head of these Kutumbas are similarly called Kutumbins; and they have been actually referred to as such in the cave inscriptions of Mahārāshtra.[9] These Kutumbins were the peasant proprietors.

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[1] *Buddhist India*, p. 98.
[2] H. A. Rose's *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, Vol. II. pp. 62-63.
[3] *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 151.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 149 and ff.
[5] P. 166, l. 8.
[6] *Gaudalekha-mala*, p. 61, l. 36.
[7] *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1903-04, p. 111, Nos. 33, 39 and 40.
[8] *Ibid.*, 1913-14, p. 139, No. 277-A.
[9] *I.A.*, Vol. XLVIII. p. 80.

In later times, though the term Kulika was forgotten, the term Kutumbin is traceable in the Marāthī *Kulmbi* and the Gujarātī *Kanbi* and is now used to denote exclusively the cultivators. Though the term kulika is now forgotten, the term *kula* is still preserved in the Bengali *kula-karma* which means 'cultivation'. The upshot of this discussion is that Prathama-Kulika represented, in the *Adhishthan-adhikarana* or the Court of the District Town, the topmost section of the Kulikas who were the District Zemindars.

There now remains the fourth term to be explained, namely, Prathama-Kāyastha. We have therefore to trace the history of the Kāyastha caste in Bengal. The first question that arises is: when did the Kāyastha caste spring into existance in this province? In this connection we have to note that there is a work called *Nyayakandali* by Srīdhara, which is a commentary on prasastapada's *Vaiseshika-sutra*[1]. There he tells us that he composed the work at a place called Bhūrisrishti in Dakshina-Rādhā in Saka 913-991 A.D. at the request of one Pāndudāsa, who was "the head-mark of the Kāyastha *Kula* or community." The Kāyastha caste had thus been formed in Bengal by the tenth century. But what was the primary occupation of the Kāyasthas before they developed into a caste? A copper plate was found in Tippera more than ten years ago which is dated G.E. 188—506 A.D. and speaks of Naradatta as the officer who drew up the grant. There he has been designated as *Sandhivigrahadhikarana-Kayastha*, that is, 'a Kāyastha in charge of the Department of Peace and War'.[2] It is difficult to say what the word *Kayastha* here denotes, but there is here no indication at all that the Kāyasthas formed a caste about the end of the sixth century A.D. What was then the exact duty of the Kāyastha between the sixth and the 10th centuries before the Kāyastha caste arose? The Rāmganñj Plate of Isvaraghōsha, which belongs to the late Pāla period, mentions in the list of officials Mahākāyastha along with Mahākaranadhyaksha and Mahākshapatalika.[3] This shows that up till the twelfth century A.D. the function of a Kayastha in Bengal was different from that of Karanika or 'the writer' or Akshapatalika or 'the accountant'. But that does not determine the exact duty of the Kāyastha in Bengal. If we, however, turn to the ealier Pāla period and especially to the Khālimpur charter of Dharmapāla, the list of officials specified therein clusters together Jyéshtha-Kāyastha, Mahattara, and Dāsagrāmika as *Vishya vyavaharins* or District Officers. It appears that in the Pāla period the lowest unit for the governance of a district was a group of ten villages incharge of an official who was for that reason styled Dāsagrāmika, that above him was a Mahattara, and above the latter a Mahā-Mahattara and that above every one of these was placed a Jyéshtha-Kāyastha. Now the term Jyéshtha-Kāyastha which occurs in Faridpur Plates also implies that the other officials, namely, the Mahā-Mahattaras, Mahattaras and Dāsagrāmikas under him were known simply as Kāyastha. They thus seem to be district officers all connected principally with the collection of revenue and designated Kāyastha in ancient Bengal as they were in Kashmier in the time of Kalhana.[4] Prathama-Kāyastha like Jyéstha-Kāyastha, obviously denoted the highest grade among the Kāyasthas whose subordinate ranks were represented by the Mahā-Mahattara, Mahattara and Dāsagrāmika. To revert to the main point, the Prathama Kāyastha represents the class of officers who were in charge of the collection of the revenue.

It will be seen from the above discussion that a district town in Bengal was administered in the Gupta period by a Board of Five. Three members of this Board were Nagara-Sréshthin, Sārtthavāha and Prathama-Kulika and represented

[1] R. P. Chanda's *The Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 198.
[2] *Ind. His. Quartt.*, Vol. VI. pp. 17-18.
[3] *Inscr. of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 153, ll. 13 and 15.
[4] *Raja-tarangini*, VII, 1226.

respectively the Industrial, Commercial and Zemindari interests of the District. They seem to have been elected by their constituencies. What exactly the position of the Mahā-Kāyastha was it is difficult to say. Apparently he was nominated by the Provincial Government, the seniormost of the Revenue Collectors being selected for this purpose. There can, however, be no doubt as to the Head of this Board being appointed by the Provincial Governor. This has been actually stated to be so in the Dāmōdarpur Plates. And what has to be noted in the connection is that it was not the Vishaya-pati who was always appointed President of the District Board of Five, as might be naturally expected. Of the five Dāmōdarpur Plates only four specify details about this Head. Of these four, only one speaks of Vishaya-pati as being President of this Board, namely, the Plate dated G.E. 214 and mentioning Svayambhūdéva as his name. Of the remaining three, Kumārāmātya has been specified twice, and Ayuktaka once as the President of the District Town Pañchāyat.

What exact duties this District Pañchāyat carried out cannot be definitely determined. One duty certainly was the conveyance of land as is quite clear from the Dāmōdarpur and other kindred copper-plate inscriptions. Another duty must have been the settlement of town disputes as is also clear from Act IX of the *Mrichchhakatika* where the Srésthin and Kāyastha figure in the *Adhikarana* along with its Head, though the latter is called merely Adhikaranika there. In addition to these, they must have been entrusted with duties connected with public works, town charities and so forth. This receives confirmation from a Nāsik Cave Inscriptions which relates the benefactions of Ushavadāta to the Buddhist mendicants staying in the residential cave excavated by him for them. Ushavadāta, we know, was a son-in-law and general of the Mahākshatrapa Nahapāna (C. 125 A.D.). After citing the details of his charities, the Inscription says: *Sravita nigama-sabhaya nibadha cha phalakavare charitratoti*,[1] " All this has been proclaimed by the Town Board and registered in sheaf of record papers according to the established practice *Phalaka-vara*, ' sheaf of record papers ', reminds us of the *pustapalas* of the Dāmūdarpur Plates, who registered the conveyance of land. Many other duties the District Board of Ancient India or Bengal must have discharged similar to those of the Village Pañchāyat, but of these we have no definite knowledge.

In later times and elsewhere the term *adhishthan-adhikarana* was replaced by *panchakula-pratipatti*, the Head of which was designated Maham, that is, Mahamta, an abbreviation of Mahattara. This is evident from some Rājputānā inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteen centuries A.D.[2] Panchakula has survived in the modern Pānchōlī which certain families of Rājputānā still bear as a reminiscence of their ancestors having originally been members of Pañchakula.

The villages also of ancient Bengal were governed by a sort of Pañchāyat system about which some details have been furnished by the Dāmōdarpur and other kindred records. But as this has alreay swollen into a big note, the village Pañchāyat of old Bengal will be treated elsewhere.

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[1] *E.I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 82, l. 4.

[2] *Bomb. Gazet..*, Vol. I, Pt. I. p. 474 and ff.

Economic Condition of the Ceded Districts (1800—1807.)

[By Dr. J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D.].

The Munro papers in the Alienation Office, Poona, contain much interesting information on the economic life of the Ceded Districts[1] at the beginning of the last century which may be of use to the economic historian of the Madras Presidency. Most of these documents have not been included in Arbuthnot's *Selections from the official writings of Sir Thomas Munro* and in *Gleig's Life of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro* and for this reason they deserve publication. It will not be possible within the short compass of the present article to mention except only the most important of them and that also in their barest outline.

Early history of the Ceded Districts.

The Ceded Districts which formed a part of the old Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar, fell into the hands of a number of petty chiefs called *Poligars* after the battle of Talikotta in 1565. In 1677-78, these districts were overrun by Shivaji. Later on, they formed a part of the Nizam's dominions but were subsequently incorporated in the Kingdom of Mysore by Hyder Ali. By the treaty of 1792 the greater part of the Ceded Districts reverted to the Nizam and the remainder was allotted to him in 1799. The *Poligars* took advantage of the weakness of the Nizam's administration and were constantly up in rebellion. Their insurrection and subsequent subjugation had impoverished the districts to a great extent.

Restoration of Internal Order.

With the help of a military force Munro suppressed the *Poligars*. The more turbulent of them were expelled, and those who were allowed to remain, were force to disband their armed retainers who had preyed so long on the ryots.[2]

We learn from Munro's letter dated February, 1805 to George Buchan, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras that the suppression of Vemlah *Poligar* had met with the disapproval of the Court of Directors, but Munro defended his conduct on the ground that the present *poligar* was not related to the old Vemlah *poligar* who and his son were both dead by 1799.

Land Revenue.

The restoration of internal order in the Ceded Districts was accompanied by the settlement of land revenue. The survey of lands began in 1802 and

[1] The 'ceded districts' containing an area of about twenty-seven thousand square miles, were an extensive territory south of the river Tungabhadra which were transferred to the English East India Company by the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1800. They comprise mainly of the present districts of Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Kurnool in the Madras Presidency. They were administered by Sir Thomas Munro as Collector from October, 1800, to October, 1807.

[1] In 1800, when the Ceded Districts were transferred to the Company, there were, exclusive of the Nizam's troops, about thirty thousand armed peons under the command of eighty *poligars*, who lived on plunder and rapine. Gleig—*Life of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro* (London, 1830) Vol. I. P. 303.

appears to have been finished by 1806. The total assessment for the Ceded Districts and Punganoor was estimated at *Star Pagodas* 16,41,986-24-c.[1]

Ryotwari and Zamindari Settlements.

In another Ms. record, dated Anantapoor, 20th June, 1806, we find an interesting discussion in the form of questions and answers about the relative merits of *ryotwari*[2] and *zamindari* settlements. Though the document is not signed, the replies must have been written by Munro. This is clear from his subsequent minute dated 15th August, 1807, extracts from which have been published in Arbuthnot's *Selections*. The arguments against the *zamindari* system in both the documents are substantially similar, but each deals with many interesting matters which have not been recorded in the other at all.

The main advantages of a *ryotwari* settlement, according to the earlier document, are:—

(1) "It would render the Ryots more independent than any other.

(2) "It would diffuse more widely than any other system of benefit of private property in land.

(3) "It would enable the Country to yield in the long run a greater produce and perhaps a higher revenue than any other system.

(4) "The authority of Government and of the Courts of Justice would be more respected under a Ryotwar than any other settlements."

The chief disadvantage of the system, according to the document, is that "the expense of collection.....must always be somewhat greater than where Estates consist of one or more villages" but there was the counterbalancing advantage, *viz.*, "a compleat (*sic*) view of the state of the cultivation and of the resources of the country".

It was, however, recognised that the introduction of *Zamindars* or *mootadars*[3] in the district would give an immediate encouragement to agriculture. "As the Mootadar would have a deeper interest than the Revenue Officer or even than the Ryots in the cultivation of the country, he would be more anxious to promote it".

The second advantage of the *Zamindari* system lay in the apportioning of rent to the circumstances of the ryots. The *Zamindar*, being more intimately acquainted with the ryots, was better qualified to grant remissions than the

[1] Accounts were then kept in *Star Pagodas, fanams* and *cash*. The usual rate of exchange was 80 *cash* =1 *fanam* and 42 *fanams* =1 *Pagoda*. According to Prinse'p *Useful Tables*, Calcutta, 1834, p. 39 the weight of a star pagoda was 52·40 grains and it contained 42·55 grains of fine gold. It usually exchanged at 3½ rupees.

[2] In his Minute of 31st December, 1824, quoted in Arbuthnot's *Selections*, Munro defines *ryotwari* settlement as follows:—

> "It means a settlement with the individual ryot who owns or occupies the land, and the receiving the public assessment from him without the intervention of any renter or zemindar. Whether the assessment be a fixed rent in kind, or a fixed share of the crop in kind, or commuted into money, or a fixed or varying money rent,.....it is still ryotwari". But the kind of ryotwari which, according to Munro, was the best was a fixed and moderate money assessment.

[3] *Mootadar* was properly *muthadar* from *mutha*, meaning an estate composed of one or more villages. In Munro's Minute, the word is treated as synonimous with *Zamindar*. But as Arbuthnot points out, the term '*muthadar*' was usually applied to estates smaller than those held by the *zamindars* of the Madras Presidency.

revenue officer of the Government. Further, it was to the interest of the *Zamindar* to attract new tenants and to prevent the desertion of old ones by granting favourable terms.

Another argument in favour of the *zamindari* system was that the village tanks would be kept in better order and repaired at much less expense by *zamindar* than by Government. The *Mootadars* would in their own interest issue *tuccavi* loan whenever it was requisite and they were "much better judges of the necessity than any public servants".

Against the *zamindari* system it was urged that under it "the great body of the Ryot ... ... would be kept in a state of dependence on the *Mootadars* who would give them short leases just sufficient to encourage them to cultivate the land but would take care to secure to themselves the chief share of the profit of all improvements. There would be richer individuals but the aggregate wealth of the country would be less than under the Ryotwari System". The arguments in the document on the relative merits of the *ryotwari* and *zamindari* systems run over 25 closely typed foolscap sheets.

Assessment of Rent.

The document throws also some light on the economic condition of the ryots of the Ceded Districts. The proportion of the gross produce of land paid as rent varied according to the economic condition of the cultivator. The ryot of the middling class, *i.e.*, neither rich nor very poor, paid $45\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.[1] of the gross produce as rent to Government. The remaining $54\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. which was the ryot's share, was distributed under the following heads:—

(1) Fees to village artisans and the expenses of cultivation—40 per cent.

(2) For the maintenance of the ryot and his family—$14\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

Economic Condition of the Ryot.

According to this document, "the ryot has no furniture except a few earthen vessels which are furnished for the fees included in the expenses of cultivation by the Pot-maker of the village. Of the expense of cultivation, the hire of labourers is reckoned to make about two-fifths.....but as most of this work is done by the Ryot's own family, one-fourth of the expense of cultivation (*i.e.*, 10 per cent. of the gross produce) should be added to the maintenance of his family which gives $24\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. for that purpose".

The ryot of the middling class in those days was not supposed "to save anything but merely to have enough after paying his rent to maintain his family and keep up his agricultural stock". Besides the share of the produce of his field, the ryot of the middling class obtained "about fifteen *Pagodas* a year by the sale of milk and ghee, poultry and the thread spun by his women". The petty ryot had in those days "barely enough for subsistance (*sic*)". This is not surprising, for, the Ceded Districts had not yet recovered from the misrule and rapine of the previous decade. Though the cultivation had "greatly increased since 1800, it was still considerably less than it was in 1789".

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[1] Munro considered this State demand as too exorbitant and in his Minute of August 15, 1807, recommended the reduction of the existing assessment by one-fourth so as to make the Government's share one-third of the gross produce.

House Tax.

In his Minute of August, 15, 1807, Munro proposed permanent ryotwari settlement and recommended the retention of the house tax in the Ceded Districts as a source of increasing revenue but he suggested that the tax should be made more general than it was at the time. Both the proposals are available in Arbuthnot's *Selections* and need not be reproduced here. It may, however, be noted that this house tax was one of the earliest instances of income tax in this country which has been very fully described in another unpublished Minute of Munro, dated January 28, 1805, addressed to the President and Members of the Board of Revenue.

We learn from this Minute that the ryots paying land rent were, in general, exempted from the house tax but labourers who almost in every case received their wages in kind, had to pay the tax. Weavers also paid the tax, rated according to the estimated produce of each loom and the number of looms employed. In the case of merchants, the tax often amounted to 50 *pagodas* (a year) and was clearly a tax on income. Mahomedans, Brahmins and other privileged castes like the Rajputs were exempted from the payment of the tax. As Munro rightly observed, the tax, as it was then levied, was "contrary to every just principle of taxation in that the richer should be more lightly assessed than the poorer classes of the people".

Rural Indebtedness.

Another interesting observation on agricultural indebtedness in the Ceded Districts which is not available in Arbuthnot's *Selections*, may be briefly noted here. "Every Ryot", as Munro writes in his Minute of August, 15, 1807, "has an account with a Bazarman and a balance against him. This account often runs through two or three generations and is rarely paid off entirely. It usually originates in a small advance by the Bazarman who probably gives him 70 or 80 Rs. and takes bond for a hundred with interest at two and a half per cent. monthly. The ryot in return makes payments in grain, cotton and other articles which are usually valued against him and he receives occasionally from the Bazarman small sums for the discharge of his *kists*. After going on in this way for a number of years, the ryot finds that though he is continually paying, he is only getting deeper into debt". Similar instances are not altogether rare even in our more enlightened days.

Production and Price of Raw Cotton.

The actual produce of cotton in the Ceded Districts was estimated by Munro to be not less than two hundred and twenty-seven thousand maunds (2,27,000), a part of which was used for the local manufacture of cloth and the rest was exported to Mysore, Nellore and Arcot Provinces. The average price of cotton was then from Rs. 3 to 4 (per maund?) but unless there was a rise in price, further extension of cotton cultivation, even in the "the black land"[1] of the districts could not be expected. The poorer classes of the ryots of these districts then cultivated very little cotton. Even the most substantial cultivators seldom laid down "more than one-fourth of their land in cotton", for, grain was then a more paying crop and it provided also straw for their cattle.

[1] This refers to the black cotton soil of Berar which is one of the chief cotton-growing tracts in India at the present time.

Currency.

The substitution of money rent for rent in kind which had well nigh become completed by 1806[1], created a difficulty in the collection of revenue. There was no particular coin in general circulation in the Ceded Districts when they were transferred to the Company. It appears from Munro's letter to the Superintendent of the Mint, dated Anantapoor, 18th April, 1807 that the ryots were then paying their rents in about forty different coins at an exchange which was "fixed with reference to the *Contaroy Pagodas*[2]". The various local coins were, however, gradually giving place to the *star pagoda* and the Company's rupee[3] which were rarely to be seen a few years ago, but which became by that time "equal at least to the amount of all the other coins in circulation".

Famines.

But in spite of the restoration of internal peace and orderly revenue system, the economic condition of the people in the Ceded Districts did not appreciably improve under Munro's able administration. One of the chief reasons was frequently scarcity and famine during the greater part of the period under survey. The most effective famine relief measure, in Munro's opinion, was facility for the importation of grain. He recognised also the importance of adequate water supply as a preventive of famines. But as most of the ryots and merchants in those days used to store grain in pits in good years as a safeguard against unfavourable seasons, he observed that "the seasons alone, however, adverse, can never in one year occasion a famine". The scarcity due to unfavourable seasons was, in his opinion, converted into an actual famine only by wars, rapacity of Government and exactions and robberies of petty *zamindars*. These factors no longer operate in British India yet the famine problem still remains one of the baffling problems of Indian administration even at the present time.

In fact, some of the documents seem to be very modern indeed. There are quite a number of papers dealing with excise duties on betel nut, tobacco, *arrack*, *toddy*, hemp and other intoxicants, and with salt monopoly. There are interesting observations with regard to sub-division of holdings, repairs of tanks and *nullahs*, and similar agricultural problems. Equally interesting is the discussion about currency. Munro was of opinion that paper currency was not possible, but there should be a uniform system of metallic currency for British India, and, failing that, for the Madras Presidency. Evils of fluctuating exchange due to multiplicity of coins were forcibly brought out from the point of

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[1] In his letter to the President and Members of the Board of Trade dated Anantapoor, 24th August, 1806, Munro said that land rent was then paid "entirely in money (and) no accounts (were) kept by the village *curnams* (accountants) of the produce in kind."

[2] This *pagoda* was a mere money of account which derived its name from gold coins called Canter-raya *fanams* struck by the Mysore Prince Canterna Narasingha Raya. Ten such *fanams* formed the nominal *Contaroy Pagoda* in which accounts were usually kept in Mysore. [From Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through the countries of Nysore, Canara and Malabar*, second edition (Madras, 1870) Vol. II p. 381.]

[3] In 1805, the exchange of Company's rupees in the Ceded Districts was from 348 to 355 per 100 *star pagodas*. Most probably the same rate of exchange prevailed substantially in 1807.

view both of trade and of revenue administration. Even the theory of currency was not left out of account. For, in the Minute dated January 25, 1806, it is stated that "there can be no doubt that intervention of a paper currency not readily convertible into cash will in all countries and much more so in this raise the price both of labour and provisions to an alarming extent". Some of the problems facing Munro during his administration of the Ceded Districts still remain unsolved. It is therefore clear that his observations merit study and consideration.

THE LOCATION OF THE SUDDER NIZAMUT ADALAT IN BENGAL.

(By Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A.)

The object of this paper is to show, with the help of contemporary, official manuscript records, where the Sudder Nizamut Adalat was *first* established in Bengal. There is a difference of opinion among authorities on this question. In connexion with the subject of the "Judicial Regulations of 1772", "proposed by the committee of circuit on the 15th August, 1772, and adopted by the President and Council (of Fort William) on the 21st of that month", Harington[1] has observed:—

"Superior court of criminal jurisdiction was.....established at Moorshedabad, (then considered the capital,) under the designation of *Nizamut Sudder Adawlut*, in which was to preside a chief officer, having the title of *Daroghah*, on the part of the *Nazim*, assisted by the chief *Kazee*, the chief *Mooftee*, and three capable *Moulavies*..... A control over the proceedings of this court.....was lodged in the chief and council at Moorshedabad".

Peter Auber[2] has endorsed this view in his *Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company, etc.*[3] In his *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*[4] he has, as will appear from the following extract therefrom, practically reproduced the language of the relevant[5] judicial regulation, without making it definitely clear where the Sudder Nizamut Adalat was actually established:

"Two superior courts of justice were to be established at the chief seat of Government, the one under the denomination of Dewanny Sudder Adawlut, and the other the Nizamut Sudder Adawlut".

In the course of one of his lectures as Tagore Law Professor, Herbert Cowell[6] has said in the same connexion:

"These Foujdaree Adawluts (in districts) were placed under the control of a Sudder Nizamut Adawlut *established at Moorshedabad*[7]. It was presided over by a darogah or chief officer, appointed by the Nizam. A Chief Kazee, a chief Mooftee, and three Moulavies sat to assist him".

He has added, however, that the Court "was shortly *after its establishment on its new basis removed to Calcutta*". But it is evident from what he has said that, according to him, the Sudder Nizamut Adalat was originally established at Moorshedabad.

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[1]See his *Analysis of the Laws and Regulations enacted by the Governor General in Council at Fort William*, etc., Revised Edition, London, 1821, Vol. I., p. 299.

He was (once) "President of the Council of the College of Fort William; and Chief Judge of the Courts of Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut, at that Presidency".

[2]Once "Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East-India Company".

[3]Published in London in 1826. See pages 277-78 of the book.

[4]See Volume I, p. 426. This volume was published in London in 1837.

[5]Quoted hereinafter.

[6]See his *History of the Constitution of the Courts and Legislative Authorities in India*, 1872, pp. 38-39.

In the sixth edition of this work (published in 1936), revised by Dr. S. C. Bagchi of Calcutta University, Cowell's original statement (see the text above) has been retained (see pp. 31-32) without any modification or comment except that Dr. Bagchi has used the word "Nazim" in the place of the word "Nizam".

[7]The italics are ours.

On the other hand we find that, according to Firminger[1], Monckton Jones[2] and Ramsbotham[3], the Sudder Nizamut Adalat was to be established, under the Committee of Circuit's Plan for the Administration of Justice in Bengal, to which reference will be made hereinafter, at Calcutta.

There is a third view on the matter, which practically evades the point we are considering in this paper. At any rate, it does not, as will appear from what follows, throw much light on the point. According to the celebrated *Fifth Report*[4], the Sudder Nizamut Adalat ("Chief Court of Criminal Justice ") as well as the Sudder Diwani Adalat ("Chief Court of Civil Judicature ") was " established at the chief seat of government ". In his *History of British India*[5], James Mill has said in the same connexion : " At the seat of government were also established two supreme courts of appeal.....Suddur Dewanee Adaulut.....Nizamut Suddur Adaulut ".

And in his *Government of India*[6], Ilbert has stated :

" Superior courts were established at the chief seat of government, called the Sadr Diwani Adalat and the Sadr Nizamut Adalat ". But neither the authors of the *Fifth Report*, nor James Mill, nor again Ilbert have explained what they mean by the expression, " the chief seat (or " the seat ") of government ". They have practically reproduced, like Peter Auber (in his second book referred to before), the language of the relevant judicial regulation.

Setting aside the third view which does not really throw any light on the question under consideration, we have, on the one hand, the view of Harington, Peter Auber[7], and Cowell that the Sudder Nizamut Adalat was first established at Moorshedabad. On the other hand, we have the view of Firminger, Monckton Jones and Ramsbotham that the said Adalat was to be (first) established at Calcutta. Now the question is, which of these two views is the correct one ? As will be evident from the extracts from relevant documents quoted below, the view of Harington, Peter Auber and Cowell is erroneous and that of Firminger, Monckton Jones and Ramsbotham is correct. Unfortunately, neither Firminger, nor Monckton Jones, nor again Ramsbotham, has given any reason why he or she, as the case may be, has differed from such eminent authorities as Harington, Peter Auber and Cowell. However, we shall show now why the view of the latter is wrong.

At a meeting held at Cossimbazar on 15th August, 1772, the Committee of Circuit[8] which had been constituted by the Controlling Committee of Revenue[9] at its meeting held at Fort William on 14th May, 1772, framed a " Plan for the Administration of Justice " in Bengal and transmitted a copy of it to the President and Council at Fort William. The President and Council approved of the plan at a Secret Consultation held at Fort William on 21st August, 1772. There were altogether thirty-seven Regulations in the Plan. Now Regulation 5 laid down :

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[1]See his *Introduction to the Fifth Report*, p. CCXXII.

[2]See her *Warren Hastings in Bengal*, 1772-1774, pp. 313-14.

[3]See *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 415.

[4]From the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, dated 28th July, 1812.

[5]Volume III, Wilson's Edition, 1848, p. 529.

[6]Ed., 1916, p. 44.

[7]See his book first mentioned before.

[8]This Committee originally consisted of the Hon'ble Mr. Warren Hastings (President), Mr. Samuel Middleton, Mr. Philip Milner Dacres, Mr. James Lawrell, and Mr. John Graham. For details in regard to its origin, constitution and functions, see the author's "*Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar*," Vol. I, 1765-1772, Chapters V and VI.

[9]It was a Committee of the whole Council at Fort William. For further details in regard to it, see *ibid*, Chapter IV.

" That in like Manner two Superior Courts of Justice shall be established at the Chief Seat of Government the one under the Denomination of the Dewanee Sudder Audawlut and the other the Nizamut Sudder Audawlut ".

Now the question is : What was meant by the authors of the Regulation by the expression " the Chief Seat of Government " ? Did they mean by it Moorshedabad or Fort William (Calcutta) ? There is no doubt that the Committee of Circuit which had originally framed the " Plan for the Administration of Justice, " meant by the expression, " the Chief Seat of Government ", Fort William (*i.e.*, Calcutta), and we shall show beyond doubt that actually both the Superior Courts of Justice were first established at Fort William when effect was given to the Plan.

As we have shown in detail elsewhere[1], at a previous Consultation[2] held at Cossimbazar on 28th July, 1772, the Committee of Circuit had expressed the opinion that the "Revenue in all its Branches" should " be put under the immediate Control of the President and Council at the Presidency ", and resolved that " the Board of Revenue at Murshedabad be abolished, and that the Court of Calsa (Khalsa) with all the offices appertaining thereto be transferred to the Presidency, and placed under the Charge and Direction of the President and Council ". Fuurther, the Committee had resolved that a copy of the minutes of this Consultation should be transmitted to the Council at Fort William, and had writen a letter to the Council, advocating that the " Khalsa Cutcherry, and all the Offices dependent upon it ought to be removed to Calcutta[3] ".

Now one important consideration which had led the Committee to recommend the removal of the Khalsa from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, was the possibility of a great increase in the population and wealth of Calcutta and of the corresponding diminution of the importance of the City of Moorshedabad. As a matter of fact, the Committee had expected, as a result of this removal, that the " Consequence of the Presidency will be much improved with its Population, as it will lessen that of Moorshedabad *which will no longer remain the Capital of the Province* having nothing to support it but the presence of the Nabob and a few families of Consideration who possessing valuable property on the spot will of course chuse to continue there. The Consequence of the Nabob himself will sink in proportion and the Eyes of the People will be turned to *Calcutta as the Centre of Government* and to the Company as their Sovereign[4]". (The italics are ours).

It may be mentioned here that the Council at Fort William had unaniomusly " concurred with the Committee (of Circuit) in the propriety of remvoing the Khalsa to the Presidency and of vesting the immediate superintendence of the revenues in the President and Council ". In its letter, dated at Fort William 6th August, 1772, it had written to the Committee at Cossimbazar : " The proposed removal of the Khalsa meets with our entire approbation ".

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[1]See *ibid*, pp. 186-89.

[2]Also see Proceedings, Council, Secret Department, Fort William, 6th August, 1772.

[3]See *ibid* ; also the Committee of Circuit's letter to the Council at Fort William, dated at Cossimbazar 28th July, 1772 ; also Proceedings, Committee of Circuit, Cossimbazar, 28th July, 1772.

[4]See Proceedings, Committee of Circuit, Cossimbazar, 28th July, 1772 ; also Proceedings, Council, Secret Department, Fort William, 6th August, 1772.

And the Council actually wrote to the Court of Directors on 3rd November, 1772 :—

" At a meeting of your Council of the 30th August it was unanimously resolved to adopt the Plan, proposed by our President and Members of the Committee of Circuit at Cossimbazar, for removing the Seat of the Revenue Business to the Presidency, and for putting this important Branch of your Affairs under the immediate Management of your Governor and Council in consequence of which we formed ourselves into a Board of Revenue the 13th Ultimo. Since that time all Affairs respecting the Collections, or internal Government of the Provinces, have been confined Solely to this Department[1] ". And we find from the following extract from the General Letter[2] from Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 5th September, 1772, that the Khalsa had been actually removed from Moorshedabad to Calcutta even before that date : " The removing the Seat of the Collections to the Presidency, having rendered unnecessary the Revenue Establishment at Moorshedabad, it has been of Course withdrawn ".

In view of what we have shown above we may say that when the Committee of Circuit approved of the " Plan for the Administration of Justice " on 15th August, 1772, it really meant by the expression " Chief Seat of Government " in Regulation 5 of the Plan, *Calcutta* and no other place.

Apart from what we have stated above, there are some direct evidences, proving that both the Superior Courts of Justice were first established at Calcutta. In the first place, we find in the Proceedings of the (Council) Consultation (Revenue Department), held at Fort William on 15th December, 1772 :

" The Superintendant [3] (of the Khalsa).....acquaints the Board (*i.e.*, the Council) that upon Enquiry into the characters and Abilities of the several Persons recommended for the *two Superior Courts of Adawlut at the Presidency*[4] (*i.e.*, at Fort William)..... ".

Also—

" As the Collectors Cutchery——and this was located at Calcutta——will be wanted for the Superior Courts of Justice ", etc.....

Secondly, we find that in a letter[5], dated at Fort William 6th January, 1773, the President and Council wrote to the Court of Directors :

" In our former Address of this Season—*i.e.*, in their letter of 3rd November, 1772—we had the Honor to lay before You a Plan for the better administration of Justice throughout the Country, and for forming Judicial Courts in each Province, from whose Decrees an Appeal should lay immediately to *Calcutta*. *We have since established the Courts of Justice at the Presidency.* The Nizamut for the trial of high crimes, and the Sudder Dewaunny for hearing Appeals in Causes of Property. The former has been *fixed at this place* agreeably to our original Intention for confirming, etc. ". (The italics are ours).

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[1]See Secret Consultations, Fort William, of August 6th and 17th, 1772 ; also the Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit, Cossimbazar, of 20th August, 1772 ; also the General Letter (Revenue Department) to the Court, dated at Fort William 3rd November, 1772.

[2]See the Fifth Report from the Committee of Secrecy (House of Commons) to enquire into the Causes of the War in the Carnatic, 1782, Appendix 4.

[3]This work has been so spelt in the relevant manuscript record.

[4]Italics ours.

[5]Para 5. See the General Letter (Revenue Department, to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William 6th January, 1773. It was sent by *the Prince of Wales*.

Lastly, we find in Hastings's letter to Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, dated at Fort William 21st March, 1774 : " Two courts were appointed in every district, one for the trial of crimes and offences, and the other to decide causes of property ..... These Courts were made dependent on two supreme courts *which were established in the city of Calcutta*, one for ultimate reference in capital cases, the other for appeals[1] ". (The italics are ours).

Thus it is clear from the above that the Sudder Nizamut Adalat as well as the Sudder Diwani Adalat was first established at Calcutta. We may, therefore, say that the view of Harington, Peter Auber and Cowell that it was first established at Moorshedabad, is wrong.

We may add here that only at a Secret Consultation held at Fort William on 18th October, 1775, that the Governor-General and Council decided " to remove the Nizamut adaulet *now at Calcutta to be held in future at Moorshedabad*[2] ", so that Mahomed Reza Cawn, who was, on his virtual acquittal of the charges brought against him, " recommended " by them " to the Nabob Mobarik O'Dowla to be Naib Souba or Minister of the Sircar and Guardian of his minority, with authority to transact the Political affairs of the Sircar, to superintend the Fouzdarry Courts and the administration of Criminal Justice throughout the Country and to enforce the operation of the same on the present Establishment or to new Model and correct it " might " have full control over the officers of the Criminal Courts in the Character of Naib Souba[3] ".

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[1]For further details, see Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, Vol. I, 1841, p. 401 ; also Keith, *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy*, Vol. I, p. 62.

[2]Italics ours.

[3]See Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William, 18th October, 1775 ; also O. C. No. 2, Secret, 18th October, 1775 ; also Colebrooke, Supplement to the Digest of the Regulations and Laws enacted by the Governor-General in Council, 1807, p. 125 ; also the Fifth Report, Select Committee, 28th July, 1812. We are obliged to, and take this opportunity of thanking, the present Keeper of the Records of the Government of India for sending us, on request, a certified copy of O. C. No. 2, referred to in this footnote.

HYDER ALI'S RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH (1760—' 67).

(Based on unpublished records in the Government Record Office, Madras).

(By Dr. N. K. Sinha M. A., Ph. D.)

At the beginning of 1760, Hyder Ali was the absolute master of Mysore, the Dalaway Nandarājayya, hitherto the dictator of Mysore, having been completely ousted from power through Hyder's machinations and his own follies. The seven years' war between France and England which was raging in Europe had its repercussions in India. Lally, hardpressed at Pondicherry, was using every means to avert a catastrophe that was imminent. He approached Hyder who agreed to lend him the services of 4,000 Mysorean horse who were expected to bring provisions to the beleagured city. The main body of the Mysore army remained at Thiagur, collecting provisions and a party got into Pondicherry but on the 18th July, 1760, the main body with the convoy reached Pondicherry, after inflicting a severe defeat on Major More. In this encounter the British loss was 35 Europeans killed and wounded[1]. Hyder's attachment to the French was founded on the principle of self-interest. They supported him in his usurpation[2]. In the event of a favourable termination of the Anglo-French war, he could expect to secure Trichinoply, Madura, Tinnevelly and other places in the Carnatic. Though the outlook for the French was so gloomy Hyder agreed to support them and he might have given the Anglo-French war a very different turn. But in the meantime the monarchical party in Mysore headed by Khande-rao, till then a staunch supporter of Hyder, had planned to drive him from power. They got the aid of a Maratha army under Visaji Pandit and Gopal Rao numbering about 20,000. On the 12th August, 1760, Khande-rao made a sudden attack, and Hyder had to fly to Bangalore with only 5 horsemen[3]. He could not overwhelm the field force of Khande-rao and recover his position until May 1761. Meanwhile the British had easily disposed of the French.

To prevent Hyder from giving effective aid to the French, Yusuf Khan from Tanjore was directed to make incursions into that part of Mysore which lay nearest to him and Captain Richard Smith with a part of the Trichinopoly garrison attacked and took Karur, a Mysore possession[4]. The British even thought of enlisting a body of Maratha horse to enter the Mysore country and compel Hyder to recall his forces from Pondicherry. It was only for want of money that this could not be done[5]. At this stage occurred the internecine struggle in which Khande had temporary advantages over Hyder. Khande-rao wrote letters of friendship to the President and the Nabob of Arcot informing them that Hyder was a rebel and that it was he who had sent the troops under Mukhdum Ali to assist the French[6]. In these circumstances Hyder had to recall Mukhdum's detachment. The King of Mysore intimated to Richard Smith at Trichinopoly that he was willing to enter into an alliance with the English. Captain Smith was authorized by his Government to open negotiations to this effect but as the motive was only to gain time until the French were crushed he was to make proposals " either to the King of Mysore or to Hyder as from circumstances shall appear to him best calculated to serve the present purpose without concluding any definite treaty which is always to be referred to our approval and determination ".[7]

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1 Despatches to England—31st July, 1760, Paras. 14, 15, 30.
2 Military Consultations—Vol 13B. 1760, Page 1127.
3 *Ibid*—Vol. 13A. 1760, Page 778.
4 Despatches to England 3rd November, 1760, Para. 13.
5 *Ibid*—31st July, 1760, Para. 15.
6 *Ibid*—3rd November, 1760, Para. 14.
7 Military Consultations—13B. 18th December, 1760, Page 1132.

Hyder was pressed so hard by the Marathas and Khande-rao that his ruin seemed imminent when most unexpectedly the Marathas agreed to depart on Hyder's ceding Baramahal and paying 3 lakhs in cash. The Marathas were also in a position to aid the French at Pondicherry and the French even offered 20 lakhs, 5 immediately and Gingee was to be delivered up. The Nabob of Arcot settled with the the Marathas for 10 lakhs, 5 to be paid in twenty days and the remainder in three motnths[8]. Though Visaji Pandit thus sold himself to Muhammad Ali and Hyder Ali, his withdrawal was only due to the very difficult position of the Marathas who were facing Abdali who defeated them decidedly at Panipat on the 14th January, 1761. Gopal Rao was already gone[9] and Visaji was in a hurry to depart making of course the best terms he could under the existing circumstances. Pondicherry surrendered to Coote on the 16th January, 1761. Three hundred French troops under Alain and Hugel took service with Hyder Ali[10].

With the loss of Maratha aid, the king of Mysore became anxious to secure British support. In view of the growing power of Hyder and his coalition with Nandarajayya, Khande-rao was natrually earnest in his desire for British friendship. At one stage the British had even contemplated restoration of Karur in return for one lakh of pagodas[11] but now they were conscious of the strength of their position and were not in a mood to entertain such a proposal. The king of Mysore's Bakshi(who was near the British frontier told Richard Smith that Hyder was the enemy of the British as well as his master's and that " the king was very desirous of British friendship and he expected every hour to be invested with full authority to conclude a treaty of alliance ". Smith wrote " He has received orders to join me should I call upon him to oppose Hyder Naik. This he assured me of and his intentions to comply ". Smith further informed the President and Council " The king is a weak man. Assurance of British friendship might engage him to continue firm in his position to Hyder Naik "[12]. The Nabob of Arcot also proposed that a body of troops be sent to enable the king of Mysore to reduce Hyder[13]. But the Board resolved that " the recent proofs of the loss which the French Company sustained by their troops in the Deccan notwithstanding the immense revenues assigned for their support is a warning to us not to plunge the Company into the same difficulties by sending their troops into parts so distant from their capital."[14].

After the triumph of Hyder over Khande-rao, the king of Mysore was entirely divested of the management of his country and Khande-rao became a close prisoner. The whole affair left a trace of bitterness behind. Though the British had negotiated with the king of Mysore with the object of temporising at the end, yet Hyder could not altogether forget that at the most critical stage of his affairs the British were about to join his mortal enemies just as he had joined theirs. Letters in general terms written to him during this period remained unanswered[15].

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[8] *Ibid*—14A. 8th January, 1761, Page 32.

[9] Aithihasik Lekh Sangraha—letters Nos. 26 and 27, 9th January, Gopal Rao in Peshwa's lashkar.

[10] Despatches to England, 4th February, 1761, Para. 25 –Military Consultations—Vol. 14A. 1761. Page 15.

[11] Military Consultations—Vol. 14A. 1761, Page 25.

[12] *Ibid*—Page 102.

[13] *Ibid*—Vol. 15. Page 451.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] Military Consultations—Vol. 14A. Page 102.

French influence in Hyder's camp continued to increase. Seven or eight French officers under the command of Chevalier Du Muy, *Colonel and Mons* De La Tour, styled commandant, came to Mangalore to proceed to join Hydernaig[16]. Hyder had the reputation of being closely united to the French and he is said to have given protection to and gathered together the scattered remnants of the French nation in India. General Lawrence's minute dated 10th July, 1762, which was a plea for a respectable force laid the greatest emphasis on this danger from this professed enemy of the British, a man closely united to the French. The Nabob of Arcot began to express his apprehension at a report of Hyder's intentions to enter the province. But he continued to repeat his warnings so often[17] that this had no effect on the mind of the President and Council who learned to laugh at his scare which they thought it was the Nabob's interest to create.

While the Madras Government and the Mysore chieftain were eyeing each other with suspicion, the Bombay people, perhaps more intent on trade, obtained from Hyder an exclusive right to purchase pepper in preference to all others and they even suggested to the Madras people that as some dispute subsisted between Hyder and the Nabob of Arcot, the President and Council should try to settle it[18]. They were so very friendly to Hyder that they even supplied him some cannon, gunpowder and firearms when he pressed urgently for aid in men and stores at the time of Madhava Rao's expedition (1763—1765) and this at the risk of antagonising the great Peshwa. Their argument was that they could not afford him to lose Bidnur and Sunda countries in which he had given them valuable privileges.[19]

A noticeable feature of south Indian history during these years was the enmity between Hyder Ali and Muhammad Ali. Apart from the personal dislike which must have been very intense, there were many other points at issue. The territorial dispute concerned the following districts :—Dindigul, Karur, Kodumudi, Uttamapalaiyam, Palni, Virupakshi and Pallappatti. When Chanda Saheb was taken prisoner and put to death, there was a foujdar under him at Dindigul who agreed with the Mysoreans to deliver these places for a sum of money and other presents. But between 1682—1730 these districts were dependent on Trichinopoly. Towards the end of the reign of Queen Minakshi of Trichinopoly, Karur and Kodumundy had been seized by the Mysoreans. They were retaken by Chanda Saheb, Muhammad Ali therefore thought that he had every right to these places and the Mysoreans ought to surrender them[20]. In 1760 when Hyder helped the French, Smith took Karur and it was given to Muhammad Ali. Hyder agreed to deliver up Malpaddy which he had taken and wanted Karur back. He met with a rebuff. He was told "Caroor was taken by us at a time when he had joined the French and had made himself a party in the national war and the supplies he sent to Pondicherry enabled them to hold out longer than they could otherwise have done. It was but reasonable that we should keep Karoor as a conquest made from them or their allies who had without any reason taken up arms against us. As the treaty of peace only obliged us to restore to the French their ancient factories we are left in possession of everything else as a reward for success and the immense expense we had been at in obtaining it. Agreeing at part of this expense being charged to the Nabob it was but just that he should share in the advantages our arms had gained and therefore Caroor was

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[16] *Ibid.*—Vol. 16, Page 1, 1st January, 1762.
[17] *Ibid.*—Page, 3.
Ibid.—Vol. 18A. Page 74.
Ibid.—Vol. 18B. Page 334.
[18] *Ibid.*—Vol. 18B. Page 568, 14th August, 1763.
[19] Military Consultations—Vol. 18B. Page 568, 14th August, 1763.
[20] Military Consultations.—Vol. 23A. Page 714.

delivered up to him. The Nabob might indeed claim it by another title "[21]. The Nabob of Arcot also advanced some claims to the Cuddapah country which Hyder was absorbing into his own dominions.

Besides these territorial disputes there were other causes of friction. British troops were cantoned at Vellore to the grave irritation of Hyder. He naturally regarded this with apprehension[22]. Hyder entertained in his service Raja Saheb, the son of Chanda Saheb, Muhammad Ali's mortal enemy. He also gave shelter to Maphuz Khan, the elder brother and as such a potential enemy of Muhammad Ali. But even all this might not have led to war but for bungling British diplomacy. Hyder himself explained that the situation was not irretrievable. He wrote " What reason has the governor to be displeased at Mauphuz Cawn's coming. If a firm friendship is established between the governor and me, I know how to give him a proper answer ".[23]

The President and Council of Bombay informed the government of Fort St. George on the 4th April, 1766, that in his last invasion of the Malabar country Hyder had attacked some of the powers with whom the Bombay Government were in alliance. They judged from some circumstances in his conduct that they might be under the necessity of coming into a rupture with him. They made a request that in such a case the Madras Government should be ready to assist them in their operation against Mysore [24]. Madras in reply advised them to accomodate with Hyder because they were endeavouring to avail themselves " of the grant of the circars contrary to the inclinations of the soubah who had earnestly devised assistance from Hyder Ali to dispossess us ". Therefore in case hostilities were started against Hyder, he was sure to join Nizam Ali and this would prevent their bringing Nizam to terms.[25] This was in May, 1766. In July Hyder made an offer through his vakil. He expressed his desire to live on the most friendly terms with the English. He made his offer in the following words—" I have got a large force. The English have the same. If both be united, the Mogullians and the Marathas can do nothing. If there be an occasion on that side my troops will go to their assistance and if on my side their troops will come to my assistance. Mention this to the governor and if he is of the same opinion and if the gentlemen of the Council agree thereto, the settling it cannot be managed by a correspondence of letters for which reason you should bring a proper Gentleman and a letter under the seal of the 7 Councillors "[26]. The Madras government decided to send Bourchier, a member of the Madras Council along with Md. Baker Ali Khan. A letter from the Nabob to Hyder Ali was thus drafted....." It is desirable that between the governor of the Payenghat and the governor of Balaghat, a sincere friendship and alliance should be established ".[27] Bourchier was also instructed to get the earliest information of Hyder's intentions, the number of troops assembled and the details of preparations, the British not believing in the reality of the proposed offer. About defensive alliance Bourchier was told " Nothing more particular should be engaged than in these general terms that their friends and enemies shall be the same.....we shall be ready to give him assistance provided the peace of this country will admit of it ".[28]

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[21] Military Consultations.—Vol. 24, Page 74.
[22] *Ibid.*—Page 10, 7th January. 1766.
[23] *Ibid.*—Vol. 25, 1766, Page 384.
[24] *Ibid.*—Vol. 24, 1766, Page 213.
[25] Despatches to England, 22nd February, 1767. Para. 70.
[26] Military Consultations.—Vol. 24—1766—P. 213.
[27] *Ibid.*—Page 406.
[28] *Ibid.*—Page 436. Instructions for James Bourchier, Para. 9.

But Hyder was also negotiating with Nizam Ali and Bourchier could receive no certain intelligence of the place and time of interview. He had to return to Madras without even interviewing Hyder. The President and Council of Madras apprehended that Hyder and Nizam Ali had entered into an alliance to invade the Carnatic. This open rebuff, Hyder's return to Coimbatore without so much as sending an answer to the letters made the Madras people more forward in their overtures to the Nizam.[29] They hoped to steal a march over Hyder. The British envoy received his rebuff early in August and Calliaud's treaty with the Nizam was signed on the 12th November. On the 18th November, the President and Council of Madras wrote letters to Bombay and Tellicherry to the following effect...." We may be prevailed on to assist (the Nizam) in reducing the Mysore Government within its ancient and proper bounds and which we cannot but look upon as a favourable opportunity of checking the ambitious designs of a man from whose violence, immense conquests, riches and power the peace of the Nabob's dominions is liable to be disturbed, and indeed his refusing to admit Mr. Bourchier who set out to negotiate with him sufficiently evinces how little desirous he was of our friendship and alliance and that nothing but proceeding to extremities can bring him to reason".[30]

Apprehending a concerted attack as a consequence of the treaty between the British and the Nizam, Hyder sent back his vakil with a letter expressing his concern at his not having been able to see Mr. Bourchier and desiring that he might return to settle the terms of friendship and alliance but the Madras Government now decided to conceal their real intention as much as possible. The President acquainted the vakil that it was the constant care of the British Government to live on terms of friendship with every government but that they could not but be alarmed at his master's doubtful conduct which had put them to a considerable expense in drawing their troops from different parts but they were well pleased to find him inclinable to adopt peaceable measures."[31]

It is interesting to note that a treaty of peace and friendship between the East India Company and Hyder Ali was actually proposed by the Bombay Government on the 11th July, 1766. By it they were to enjoy all grants and privileges they had enjoyed under the former chiefs from " Cape Ramsos to Penny South " and they were not to suffer any impediment or molestation in any other settlements in this region. In all matters of trade and business the English were to have preference. Clause 12 of the proposed treaty provided that Hyder was not to enter into any alliance contrary to the interest of the Company, neither must he attack any other country powers in alliance with the Company, and more particularly the Nabob of Arcot and the king of Travancore. Hyder evaded this clause and himself put forward his demand in the following words.... " Whenever the Honourable Company may be in want of troops I will furnish them with 10/15,000 men from the Sarcar and on the contrary should the Sarcar be in such necessity the Honourable Company are to supply me in like manner as is consistent with our firm friendship and is also the cause of dread to our enemies ".[32] Here we have also the same proposal of a defensive alliance.

This Bombay project failed on account of the same reasons that prevented a rapproachement between Madras and Mysore, British policy taking a definitely anti-Hyder tone. The Madras Government objected to the proposed treaty as inconsistent with the treaty they had made with the Nizam. The curious part of the whole business was the foolish British belief as expressed in the letter from Madras to

[29] Despatches to England, 22nd February, 1766, Para. 74.
[30] Military Consultations.—Vol. 24, Page 615.
[31] Military Consultations.—Vol. 24, Page 649.
[32] *Ibid.*—Vol. 26A. Pages 16-26.

Bombay.... "We flatter ourselves that he will look upon our alliance with the Soubah in the same light as he did formerly that of the French who frequently attended the Soubah in his expeditions to Mysore, yet Hyder Ali continued in friendship with Pondicherry." [33]

The Nizam advanced with his British auxiliaries into the Mysore country. Madhava Rao his ally was already plundering other parts of Mysore. But Hyder did not give up his attempts to win the Nizam over. Maphuz Khan was sent with 50,000 pagodas and some elephants as a present to the Nizam. Sonpat Rao who had been the Dewan of Anwaruddin was also with the Nizam. Among the influential courtiers Sher Jung showed his decided dislike of the English treaty." [34] The flattering offers of Hyder Ali and the influence of these three friends of Hyder, converted the vacillating Nizam from an anti-Mysore to a pro-Mysore attitude. With a weak resolution, so fettered by a thousand considerations that it had hardly any existence, the reconversion of the Nizam was not difficult. The British now found themselves in a morass from which they found it impossible to extricate themselves. The situation can be illustrated from a letter written to Smith who was commanding the English detachment accompanying the Nizam. The President and the Council of Madras wrote—" If all the arguments and any other you can suggest prove fruitless and the Soubah seems determined to return to Hyderabad, you must then hint (provided you can learn beforehand that the Marathas will readily embrace the proposal) that you hope His Highness though it is not convenient for him to remain with his whole army will leave a part to act in conjunction with us and in that case we shall endeavour by means of the Marathas to accomplish the end proposed by the expedition. In case he cannot leave any troops that you hope he will have no objection to our entering into an agreement with Madhava Rao to assist each other against Hyder Ali. This however must be touched on in a light manner and if you perceive it raises jealousies or distrust of your intention you are to endeavour to remove them by the strongest assurances that we never mean to lose sight of our connection with the Soubah ".[35]

But the utter failure of the diplomacy of the Madras Government became more visible when Lt. Tod, sent to the camp of Madhava Rao submitted his report. He wrote— " I blush when I think of the degree of contempt I was treated with, considering my station and those I represented. Nevertheless I kept my temper, showed as little sign of disgust as possible ".[36] Madhava Rao concluded a separate treaty with Hyder and went away. The Madras Government antagonised Hyder and then deserted by the Nizam and insulted by the Marathas they found themselves completely isolated, facing the Nizam-Hyder alliance. The background of diplomacy that explains this situation is a story of incredible bungling. They had flattered themselves with the hope that they would " reduce the Mysore Government within its ancient and proper bounds as well as check the designs of a man dangerous to the peace and tranquility of the Cornatic ".[37] But now they found that before any defensive plan had matured and arrangements made for adequate provisions they had to face the Nizam-Hyder combination. Their hollow alliances and diplomatic counterplots were foiled completely by Hyder who made them appear to be ridiculous.*

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[33] *Ibid.*
[34] *Ibid.*—Vol. 26A. Pages 65 and 104.
[35] *Ibid.*—Page 243, Para. 5.
[36] *Ibid.*—Page 381.
[37] Despatches to England—22nd February, 1767, Para. 75.

*I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the Curator, Madras Record Office and his staff for the facilities I got there in studying the records.

THE SETTLEMENT OF DACCA, SYLHET AND TIPPERAH IN 1772.

[By Dr. A. P. Das Gupta, M. A., Ph. D. (Lond.)]

The objects of the appointment of the Committee of Circuit in 1772, and the quinquennial settlement of the lands of Nadia and Rajshahi made by the Committee have been dealt with in papers previously published.[1] It is proposed to describe here the settlement by the Committee of the lands in the Dacca district including the arrangements arrived at for Sylhet, Tipperah and Chittagong.

The Committee of Circuit arrived at Dacca on the 1st October, 1772. Advertisement had already been made for proposals for farming the lands, but the Committee found that upto that time no proposal had been received. The Committee thereupon issued fresh notice extending the period of receiving proposals to the 5th of Kartik.[2] In the meanwhile the Committee decided to busy itself with the papers relating to the revenues of the district which had up to the time reached it. Already on the 11th July, 1772[3] the Committee had required the Collector of Dacca to advise "whether the Talookdary lands of your district have ever had their value ascertained by a hustabook, and if they have not, we desire you will immediately appoint proper persons, to make such a valuation as without this it will be impossible to make a proper settlement of the revenue, or determine on the rights, and privileges of the talookdars." The Collector, Mr. Grueber, had frankly admitted the difficulties of the task. He had transmitted certain accounts relating to the revenues but with the remark that very little dependence could be placed on those accounts, because "time would not admit of aumeens being sent into the mofussil to collect and bring the original papers, there was therefore a necessity of taking such statements from the Zemindars as they were pleased to deliver in and as it is so essential to their interest to conceal from us the real amount they collect as also the quantity of land that pays no revenue in their pargannahs, I do not entertain a doubt but that in all these accounts they have rendered very fallacious statements. Neither do I apprehend that a just statement of these accounts can be obtained but by local investigation made by the Collector at the sudder cutcherry in each pargannah. Throughout the district a research of this nature I should suppose indispensably necessary to procure an exact rent roll of the province".[4] It seems however, in the absence of evidence, that the Committee considered these accounts suitable to serve as a working basis. As a matter of fact the Committee had no other option but to work on these figures. Local investigation of the kind suggested would have taken time during which it was not possible for the Committee to wait.

After a second extension of the time for receiving proposals, the Committee, on the 23rd October, found that a sufficient number of proposals had arrived for the Dacca lands to enable them to proceed with their settlement on the most advantageous terms.[5] In conformity to the resolutions adopted by the Committee on the

[1] The author's papers on "The Committee of Circuit at Krishnagar" read before the Indian Historical Records Commission at Calcutta in 1939 and on the "Settlement of Rajshahi n 1772" read before the Indian History Congress in December, 1939.

[2] Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Dacca 3rd October 1772-ap. Proceedings of the Committee Vol. IV published by Government of Bengal 1926, p. 1.

[3] Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Kasimbazar 11th July, 1772-ap. Proceedings of the Committee Vol. I, II and III published by Government of Bengal 1926, p. 47.

[4] Grueber to Committee—14 Aug. 1772—Proc. of 8 Oct. 1772 *Idem* Vol. IV—p. 21

[5] Minutes of Consultation—Proc. of 23 Oct. 1772—*Idem* p. 68.

20th July 1772 at Kasimbazar to which it thought " there is the greatest reason for continuing to adhere, on account of the still further elapse of the current year and the lands of these districts being totally composed of inferior Zemindaries and talooks to the number of not less than 10,000 ", the Committee now resolved that " a reserve of preference be allowed to the Zemindars and Talocdars to settle for their lands provided they will agree to the highest increase offered and enter into responsible security and all the conditions for a farming lease ". In the opinion of the Committee the present offers were affected to some extent " by the unfavourable ideas entertained of the broken year from its being so far elapsed and one of the harvests concluded. The Committee decided that the new settlement was to be adjusted from the beginning of the ensuing year. This they hoped would bring in larger offers on many mahals. The current year's revenue was then to be settled on the most favourable terms with the same persons.(6).

By the 15th of November the settlement of the lands of the Dacca district was finally concluded and the necessary documents executed. The Dacca lands were settled at S. R. 2730239 for 1178. S. R. 60540 were deducted on account of abolition of Zemindary ghats etc. The jama fixed by the Committee for 1178 therefore amounted to S. R. 2669698. The revenue agreed to be paid for the Dacca lands clear of all charges for the next five years was as follows :—

1179	S. R. 2970503
1180	S. R. 3187058
1181	S. R. 3206387
1182	S. R. 3208472
1183	S. R. 3209514

Thus the total increase expected in five years was S. R. 5,39,816.(7)

For Luckypore the jama fixed by the Committee amounted to S. R. 3,26,786 for 1178, rising to S. R. 3,86,339 for 1183, the total increase in five years being S. R. 59,553.(8)

For Sundeep the jama for 1178 was fixed at S. R. 63,795 rising upto 77,974 for 1183, the total increase amounting to 14,174.(9) One fourth of Sundeep was let out to Md. Hossein Chowdhury and three fourths to Jaynarayan Ghosal.[10]

The huge area under the Collectorship of Dacca was now split up. The islands of Sundeep, Hatte and Baminia were annexed and the district of Tipperah re-annexed to the Collectorship of Chittagong.

Certain parganas lying to the east of the river Megna and South of the Dakyliah yielding a yearly revenue of 3½ lakhs of rupees were formed into a new Collectorship and placed under the resident at Luckypore. There were Belwa, Jugdea, Gopalpore, Babupore, Danderah, Shaistanagar, Furockkabad Gonanundy 2 parts Sangdy, Canchanpore, Singergong, Homnabad 4 parts, Chowdagong.[11]

The Committee also discussed whether the two departments, Huzoory Department and Nizamut Department, which had hitherto been preserved in making the collections should be allowed to continue. The Committee were of opinion that " such distinct arrangement is by no means absolutely necessary towards the success

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[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Vide* table appended to Proc. of 27 Nov. 1772—*Idem* p. 159.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Idem* p. 169. Interesting particulars about Jaynarayan Ghosal are furnished in Dr. S. N. Sen's article entitled " A Bengali Mss. 150 years old " in Bharatvarsha-Bhadra 1347.

[11] Committee to Pt. & Council of Revenue—28 Oct. 1772—*Idem* pp. 78-79.

of the collections, but out of tenderness and consideration to the great age and faithful services of the Naib Jessarut Khan and the steady attachment and humanity which he has at different times testified towards our nation during periods of distress and public calamity.

"The Committee.....recommend.....that the division of the collections which has hitherto prevailed should be continued during the life of the present naib ".[12]

The Committee went carefully into the accounts of the expenses chargeable on the Dacca revenues and reduced them from S. R. 2,81,102 to S. R. 2,22,445 thereby effecting a savings of S. R. 58,657 annually.[13] Hari Mallik was appointed Dewan of the Dacca district on an allowance of Rupees 1,000 per month.[14]

The papers relating to the district of Sylhet which were placed before the Committee by Willian Makepeace Thackeray showed that the collections were considerably in arrears. The Dewan had informed Thackeray that this "was owing to the want of a proper influence over the zemindar.....each zemindar was constantly evading payment, and never failed to take advantage of every opportunity which might serve as an excuse to retard the collections. Indeed there are one or two considerable Zemindars who consider (sic) themselves in a manner independent, who seems to be entirely ignorant of the nature of the Company and who have no fixed rules for their conduct". The charges on the Sylhet revenues were also very high amounting to as much as 50 per cent. of the revenues. Thackeray suggested that the revenues could be increased by realisation of arrears and reduction of charges and proposed the appointment of a resident to reside on the spot.[15] The Committee agreed and resolved that "the nomination of a Company's servant to reside in quality of a Collector at Sylhet will be eligible for the following purposes; First, to forward the regular payment of the Collections, which owing to the distance of any immediate inspection appear to be extremely backward. Secondly, to investigate the exorbitant charges which it appears may admit of considerable retrenchment and produce an handsome increase of revenue. Thirdly, to establish a regular judicial authority to which the inhabitants may be amendable (sic) and have an opportunity to rely for redress of their grievances. Fourthly, to ingratiate thereby the affections of the ryots and bring them into a state of more civilized subjection to the Compy government. Fifthly (sic) to facilitate (sic) and increase the provision of chunam."[16] W. M. Thackeray was nominated Collector at Sylhet, and was instructed to exert his utmost to realise the arrear and to investigate without loss of time the extravagant charges with a view to their reduction wherever possible.[17]

Proposals having been received from Dessyram and some other inhabitants of Sylhet offering an increase of S. R. 20,000 in the first year over the sudder revenue

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[12] Minutes of Consultation—Proc. of 30 Oct. 1772—*Idem* p. 81.
[13] *Idem* p. 51, p. 89 and p. 110.
[14] Proc. of 30 Oct. 1772—*Idem* p. 90.
[15] Thackeray to Committee—25 Sept. 1772—Proc. of 10 Oct. 1772 *Idem* pp. 31-32.
[16] Minutes of Consultation—10 Oct. 1772—*Idem* p. 43.
[17] Committee to Thackeray—10 Oct. 1772—*Idem* pp. 43-45.

It is interesting to note that the revenues of Sylhet were paid in cowries which used to be sent by boats to Murshidabad. In this connection the Committee wrote to Thackeray, "the want of coin in Sylhet and the cause of cowries being the only currency are subjects on which we wish to obtain an accurate knowledge. .....You will particularly inform yourself whether this currency has been immemorial in this country, from whence the cowries are imported & how the currency is supplied seeing the payment of the current revenues proves such a considerable annual drain. Could a copper coin be established in lieu of the cowries, it would open a considerable vend for that article of the Company's Europe exports "—*Ibid* p. 45.

of S. R. 98,621 and additional increase of S. R. 2,500 every year for the four following years (*i.e.* total increase of 125,000 Rs. in five years),[18] the Committee were of opinion that the proposals offered for farming Sylhet were "highly advantageous for the Company.....that the proposals being tendered by inhabitants of the district render them still more eligible, as the local residence of the farmers, their families and connections are ties which may be expected to bind them to promote the prosperity and improvement of the lands and the welfare and case of the reiats." The proposals were therefore accepted and Mr. Thackeray was authorised to conclude the settlement with the persons who tendered them. Sunnunderam Roy was appointed Dewan of Sylhet[19]. The Committee in reporting to Calcutta the settlement of Sylhet informed that, "the farmer by the conditions of his lease is bound to support the several thanas and chokies for the protection of the district, and to defray the expense thereof until such time however as the collector's authority has been properly established and the peace of the district secur'd from the incursions of the adjacent petty Zemindars. We think that a party of sepoys will be found absolutely necessary; when these ends have been effected they may be hereafter withdrawn or at least greatly diminished."[20]

The bundobast of Tipperah, known as the chuckla of Roshenabad, the Zemindary of Rajah Radhakrisna Manikya had been settled in 1178 by Mr. Middleton with Nityananda Singh as adadar for the term of three years on the following conditions :—

For the year 1178	1,45,000
For the year 1179	1,55,000
For the year 1180	1,65,000

12,000 Rs. was to be deducted on account of the expenses of the Rajah and 7,200 Rs. as the adadar's sebundy from the bundobast of each year and the remainder remitted to the Khalsa.[21] Nityananda now applied for permission to be relieved of his Wadadari, on the ground that he would not be able to discharge the bundobast if the chukla was now farmed out for five years. The Committee accepted his resignation and issued advertisements for proposals for farming the district. The Collector was asked to call upon Nityananda for his revenue to the end of Kartik and to oblige him to pay it up without balance.[22] Within a short time the Committee received offers from the Rajah himself for farming the district and tendering one Ramkrishna Bose to be his security. The revenue offered to be paid clear of all charges was Rs. 1,43,000 for 1179 and Rs. 1,53,000 for each of the four following years. The offer was an increase of Rs. 10,000 for 1179 over the bundobast with Nityananda and produced an increase of Rs. 20,000 in five years. The Committee readily accepted the proposals and the amalnama, Kabuliat, and Kistbundee were accordingly executed.[23]

The figures given by Charles Bentley, the Collector of Chittagong, showed the total amount of revenues from the Chittagong district to be Currt. Rs. 5,28,259. Of this sum the asal juma amounted to Rs. 4,19,757.[24] Bentley was of opinion that the plan of farming out the lands of his district could not succeed unless some preliminary preparations were made. "Of the chucklas and purgunnahs which subsisted during the government of the Moors" few or no traces could be found even in the

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[18] Thackeray to Committee—16 Oct. 1772—Proc. of 20 Oct. 1772. *Idem* p. 65.
[19] *Idem* p. 66.
[20] Committee to Pt. and Council of Revenue at Fort William—3 Nov. 1772—*Idem* p. 97.
[21] Proceedings of 18 Nov. 1772—*Idem* p. 132.
[22] Idem p. 133. (23)—Proc. of 21 Nov. 1772—*Idem* p. 138.
[24] *Idem* pp. 134-135.

Bengalee records. Zemindars, the Collector reported, "are possessed of different districts here and there chiefly of the most fruitful and best cultivated parts of different chucklahs and purgunnahs which have been thrown into a general measurement without any distinction of place and entered as to many dones of ground upon our histebood at a certain annual fixed rent." He suggested that "these several districts" should be formed into nine chaklas and a new hustabood prepared showing the number of Zemindars attached to each chakla, the measurement of their lands as well as of the Nijut and charity lands and the total annual revenue of such chakla. This would enable the farmer to have full information and would induce him to raise his proposals. Some months would elapse before the new arrangement of the district could be effected and the Collector suggested that he himself should receive the proposals for farming the district, after the new chaklas had been formed.[25] The Committee were unable to take any step for the settlement of Chittagong during their stay at Dacca and on the 18th November 1772 reported to the President and Council of Revenue at Fort William.

"The season being now too far advanced to admit of our proceeding to Chittagong and of our completing also the circuit of the remaining districts it was our intention to have convey'd to the Collector the necessary instructions from the plan of your general regulations, but as the Collector's letters have not been accompanied with any proposals for renting the lands and as indeed their principal purport is a proposition for adopting an entire new modelment of the province which if resolv'd on must precede the settlement and will it is evident consume the whole of the remainder of the present Bengal year, we think there would be an impropriety in our determining on this point without previously submitting it to your consideration. We beg leave therefore to refer the whole of the Collector's letters for that purpose and if it meets with your approbation such instructions as you shall think proper to give may be conveyed directly to the Collector to be carried into execution."[26]

On the 27th November the Committee minuted on their proceedings that their work at Dacca had now been finally concluded upwards of ten days, that they had delayed issuing the final orders to the several collectors in expectation of the answer of the Council of Revenue to their former letters, and that taking now into consideration "the great advance of the season, the settlements still to be made of the districts of Rungpore, Dinagepoor, Purneah Boglepoor and Rajamahl....the Committee are unanimously of opinion that a longer delay in finishing their business at this place and proceeding to execute the further objects of their mission might not only affect the collections in these parts, but also prove of material prejudice to the settlement of the districts they have still to visit".

The Committee therefore resolved "that the accounts of the settlement be now recorded and the necessary orders issued and should the directions of the Hon'ble the President and Council when received occasion any alteration to be made therein that the same be accordingly notified in supplemental letters to the respective collectors.....".[27]

Thus the Committee wound up its business at Dacca and on the 28th November 1772 proceeded to Rangpur to carry on the further objects of their circuit.[28]

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[25] Bentley to Committee—29 Aug. 1772—Proc. of 3 Oct. 1772—*Idem* p. 11.

[26] *Idem* p. 128.

[27] Pro. of 27 Nov. 1772—*Idem* pp. 157-158.

[28] *Idem* p. 167.

CLIVE AND THE JUNIOR CIVIL SERVANTS.

(By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph. D., D. Litt.,)

Clive's attitude towards the Company's junior civil servants has not received sufficient notice at the hands of historians. While it is generally known that the Company's civil service could not be effectively reformed by Clive, it is usually ignored that his failure was due mainly to circumstances beyond his control.

From one of his letters hitherto ignored one gets a glimpse of Clive's idea about the junior members of the civil service. (*Vide* Bengal Select Committee—Letter to the Court of Directors, March 24, 1766) I shall quote a few lines to explain Clive's attitude :—

> " ..... your service here has always been carried on rather from a dread of punishment than a sense of duty ; and that at present no branch of your affairs is conducted with that alacrity and zeal necessary and essential to your interest, to which, we should conceive, all your servants would be naturally excited, by the uncommon advantages they enjoy ".

This state of affairs was ascribed by Clive to the appointment of junior civil servants to high offices. He urged, " This decline of public spirit we must, in great measure, ascribe to a practice which hath prevailed at this settlement more than at any other, of entrusting some of the most weighty employments in your service to gentlemen scarce arrived at years of maturity. The business of the Secretary's department was committed to a youth of three years standing in our service ; the employment of Accountant is now discharged by a writer still lower in the list of your servants ; the important trusts of Military Store-Keeper, Naval Store-Keeper, and Store-keeper of the Works, were bestowed, when left vacant, upon writers ; and a writer held the post of Paymaster to the Army at a period when near 20 lakhs of rupees had been deposited for months together in his hands ".

Clive sums up thus, " ..... reposing trusts of so important and lucrative a nature in the hands of youngmen hath rendered them too soon independent, and given birth to that spirit of dissipation and luxury, of which you were very justly informed ..... From this source likewise flowed a grievance of the utmost consequence to your service, which demands an immediate remedy. The younger servants, being incapable themselves to discharge the functions of their several offices, were forced to have recourse to their Banians and black writers ..... Too strict a regard to promoting seniority will ever prove injurious to the service, notwithstanding the rule is convenient and equitable, under certain exceptions and limitations ".

Clive was aware of the fact that the principal source of corruption in the civil service was low salaries. It is interesting to note that he believed that one could not live in India on less than ten times the salary that was actually given to the civil servants. This was no doubt due to the prevalence of extravagance and luxury, but was in some measure due to rising prices, as well. The authorities thus write about it to the Directors, " ..... when you have duly considered the many restrictions now imposed on your junior servants, when you reflect upon the exorbitant price to which almost every article of living is risen, we hope it will appear to you, as it evidently does to us, that their allowance is no way proportioned to the unavoidable expenses of the most rigid economy. They are now deprived the benefit of all trade ; they are restrained from receiving the salaries annexed to double employments. The greatest number is indeed reduced to your bare monthly allowance, which, it must be owned, is too scanty a fund to secure them against the

necessity of incurring debts that have a bad influence upon their morals, by entangling them in difficulties, from which every means will naturally be tried to extricate themselves. For these reasons we exhort you that a competent subsistence may be established for your junior servants, and more especially the writers who have no claim to Dustucks ". (*vide* Home Department : Bengal Public Letters to the Court of Directors 1766-67, p. 300).

As Clive had no authority to raise the low salaries, he set up, and this has generally been ignored by historians, a committee to institute some form of censorship over the private expenses of the junior civil servants. The regulations (*vide* Home Department—Bengal Public Letters to the Court of Directors 1767-68, pp. 119-20) framed in this connection by this committee have not received the attention they deserve. They are highly interesting, and will amuse the present-day members of the Indian Civil Service. They are as follows :—

" 1. With respect to the servants necessary to be kept by a writer without a family, the Committee are of opinion that he should be allowed two and a cook ; one for the immediate care of his house and charge of his effects, and another to attend him when he goes out or to assist in the charge of his effects and house in case of sickness of the other ".

" 2. It is recommended that an order be issued that no writer shall be allowed to keep a horse without the express permission of the Governor and be permitted either of himself or jointly with others to keep a garden house ".

" 3. It is further recommended that the writers be enjoined to wear no other than plain clothes ".

In his farewell letter (*Vide* Foreign Department—Bengal Select Committee Proceedings 1767, p. 34) to the Select Committee, Clive expressed his pious hope that the reformation proposed by the aforesaid committee would be duly attended to. It is, however, needless to add that such grand-motherly regulations in the absence of adequate salaries could hardly prove effective or popular.

WARREN HASTINGS AS A PLAINTIFF.

(By Mr. O. P. Bhatanagar, M.A.)

While looking into cases classified under common law and equity in the original side of the High Court, I came across a number of cases in which Warren Hastings, head of the administration of the East India Company during the years (1772-1785) figured as a plaintiff. His is a most colourful personality and inspite of several works on him a really comprehensive one is still wanting. We know that he was the only Goveror-General who was attacked most in the Council and he had no end of trouble. The unworkable clauses of the Regulating Act were no doubt responsible for impeding the task of administration but opposition to Warren Hastings was also due to other causes. It is not my purpose here to discuss them at length. On the basis of the records I have consulted, I come to the conclusion that in his private capacity he did not properly maintain the dignity of the high office, he occupied. He was engaged like average men in litigation and figured many a time as a plaintiff. If the Governor-General got involved in a number of cases, his subordinates could hardly have been expected to be very loyal to him.

Looking into the proceedings of the Supreme Court, I found that Warren Hastings appeared as a plaintiff quite often. On the 1st of March 1782 he filed a suit against one J. S. Hickey, the notorious editor of the paper 'Hickey's Gazette'. In his application Warren Hastings complained that Hickey had published 'false feigned and scandalous libel'. The following passage was cited by Hastings as libellous. "..... we are informed that a certain quixote (meaning the said Warren Hastings) was observed for several days to have a confounded rueful face in consequence as it is supposed of his (Warren Hasting's having greatly over-reached in a recent treaty with an able Mahratta plenipotentiary: and further that 'many people think that the Quixote' has been made an April Fool of and that his crest is fallen ....."

In another petition filed on the 8th of March, reference was made to another libellous passage "At the new theatre near the Court House is now in rehearsal a tragedy called 'Tyranny in full bloom or the Devil to pay', with the farce 'All on the wrong'. Warren Hastings claimed damages to the value of one hundred thousand sicca rupees, saying that his prestige had been lowered by such scandalous remarks. The case was won by Warren Hastings and he was awarded rupees ten thousand as compensation along with rupees five hundred and seventy six as costs. (common law : Hastings *vs.* Hickey : Nos. 2398 and 2399).

In another case Warren Hastings figured as a creditor. He filed a suit through his attorney Thomas Raban complaining against one Manick Dass an inhabitant settled in the City of Calcutta, who was to render to him (Warren Hastings a sum of four thousand Arcot rupees which he owed him (Warren Hastings). The application was filed on the 20th of September 1791. The sum had been borrowed in 1774. Manick Dass submitted a petition through his attorney William Johnson declaring himself a pauper. He admitted that he had borrowed a sum of rupees two thousand from Warren Hastings at ten per cent rate of interest. The sum had been lent to Manick Dass for fighting a case against one Alexander Johnson. This case had been filed in the Mayor's Court in 1772 and was transferred to the Supreme Court when it came into existence Manick Dass put forward the plea that since the case of Alexander had not so far been decided and had been pending Warren Hastings could not claim the sum before the case had been fully decided. Common law : Hastings *vs.* Manick Dass : No. 5678).

This case reveals two interesting things that Warren Hastings had personal interest in the case against Alexander Johnson which had been filed by Manick Dass at the instigation of Warren Hastings. And that the Judicial machinery set up by the Crown, also, moved very slowly. The case had been instituted before the Supreme Court had come into existence and it remained pending even in the year 1791 when Warren Hastings filed a suit against Manick Dass. Warren Hastings had then even ceased to be the Governor General of India.

There is another case in which Warren Hastings again figured as a creditor. There were other gentlemen as well, *viz.*, Sir Robert Chambers, Thomas Gladvin Sr. of Wigmore Street, Cavendish Square, London. Thomas Gladvin Jr. a captain in the service of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies and Sir Robert Barker of Spring Gardens, Westminster branch, who were associated with the Governor-General. They filed a suit through their attorney William Smoult against one Francis Gladwin for the recovery of debts. Duly executed bonds were produced as evidence. A paper bearing the signature of one William Jackson showed that the defendant had taken money from the plaintiffs in 1780. A sum of forty thousand had been borrowed by Francis Gladwin on ten per cent rate of interest. This case again as we see, came up before the Supreme Court after Warren Hastings had left India. (Common law : Hastings *vs.* Gladwin No. 3603). We do not know exactly as to how this case was disposed of since papers in its connection are wanting.

The catalogue of the original side includes quite a large number of cases in which Warren Hastings was involved, but papers regarding majority of cases are either misplaced or lost.

Mofussil Special Commission in the North Western Provinces.

(1821—1829.)

[By Mr. R. N. Nagar, M.A.]

The Mofussil Special Commission was established (by the Regulation I of 1821, and abolished in the year 1829) as a result of the vigorous and persistent observations of high officers like Stuart, Robertson, and others.[1] Stuart was the first to suggest the formation of a commission. They made the Government[2] realise the disastrous consequences of the Sales Law, which had been so blatantly utilised by subordinate Indian Officers for their own enrichment, to the ruin of thousands of zamindars and other land owners. They advocated redress to the ousted proprietors, and urged for an inquiry into the various tenures, rights and usages of the agricultural community.

Thus, the commission was formed[3] "for the investigation and decision of certain claims to recover possession of land, illegally or wrongfully disposed off by public sale or lost through private transfer, effected by undue influences, and for the corrections and omissions of the proceedings adopted by the revenue officers in regard to the record and recognition of proprietory rights, and the ascertainment of tenures, interests and privileges of the agricultural community". The Commission was placed under the supervision of the Sadar Special Commission, which was stationed at Fort Williams.

The position of the Commission was very difficult, and anomalous. It had no regular code of procedure or judgment for its guidance.—"In[4] all matters not specifically provided for in these rules, or in the Regulations of 1821 and 1823, the mode of proceedings shall be conformable to the rules in force in the Court of Justice - - - - - but when inapplicable or productive of delay and inconvenience to the parties, the Commission will proceed to apply a remedy pointed out by clause II Section XII Regulation I 1821."

Then, there was no precedent before it. The Commissioners observed,[5] "Nothing can be more hazarduous in questions of fact than to decide in one case from the analogy of another."

[6] The difficulty of procuring sufficient or reliable evidence was, also, very great. All the pergunah records were destroyed, which alone were capable of throwing any light on the subject. The existent records also were not quite reliable as they had been systematically tampered with. People[7] were hesitant in running up to the Courts, and when[8] a plaintiff did come forward he was often confronted with numerous and confusing claims of subordinate shareholders.

Then, the greatest anomaly was that, when the principles underlying the rights and tenures were not previously known, how could the claims of various natures be specified? For instance, unless it was known that Muqaddams possessed, similar, superior, or inferior rights to a Zamindar, how could the extent or nature of his possessions be decided?

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1 Minute, 29th September 1820.
2 Preamble of Regulation I 1821.
3 Revenue letter from the Bengal Government to the Hon'ble Court of Directors.
4 Letter to Mr. Molony, Secy., Sadar Special Commission from the Mofussil Special Commissioners, 25th February 1824.
5 Letter to Mr. Molony.
6 Letter to Mr. Molony by W. W. Bird, a Member of the Mofussil Special Commission.
7 Minute by Mr. Strachey, Fifth Committee Report.
8 Letter to Mr. Molony, 25th February 1824.

Further, the Commission was not furnished with adequate means to carry out its work. The Mofussil Commissioners pointed out to the Sadar Commission,[1] "It is impossible, as long as Commission consists but of two members, each of whom is to record his sentiments on every point, that both inquiries should be conducted simultaneously"—It[2] was not provided with the assistance of European or Indian Officers for the condust of its duties.

Nor, were the rules and regulations carefully drawn up. The Commissioners[3] observed that a total difference of opinion existed between them and the Sadar Special Commission in regard to the several of the provisions contained in Regulation I, 1821.

It was not to be wondered at, therefore, that in face of such serious limitations, the Commission could not make progress satisfactorily. The following figures give an idea of the amount of work conducted.

At Cawnpore.

1[4] Date.	Cases pending	Fresh cases.	Decided on merits.	Adjusted or withdrawn.	Total.
1st April, 1821 . . .	261	0	1	2	258
1st May, 1821 . . .	2·8	87	9	11	334 (One decide by default).
1st July, 1821 . . .	387	36	19	10	394
1st October . . .	384	2	22	1	361 (Two by default).
At Allahabad.					
1st August, 1823 . .	89	20	0	0	109
1st February, 1823 . .	77	7	0	1	83
1st April, 1823 . . .	85	2	0	0	87
1st May, 1823 . . .	87	0	0	0	87
1st June, 1823 . . .	87	1	0	0	88
1st July, 1823 . . .	88	1	0	0	89
1st January, 1827 . .	355	9	5	0	359 *(395 Pattidari claim.)
1st January . . .	328	2	5	0	325 *(418Pattidari.)
1st January . . .	193	1	11	0	183 *(Claims Pattidari 308.)

[1] Letter to Mr. Molony, 13th February 1826.
[2] Minute by Mr. Christian, Member Mofussil Special Commission.
[3] Letter to Mr. Molony, 26th August 1822.
[4] Abstract statements of causes decided by the Mofussil Special Commission.
*These claims were not separately specified.

Following are the figures from the work done by individual members.

Cases decided, adjusted or withdrawn.

Date.	1st Member.	2nd.	3rd,
June, 1828	30	24	14
July, 1828	2	24	22
September, 1828.	23	25	22
October, 1828	Nil.	Nil.	7
November, 1828	-	Nil.	8
January, 1829	Nil.	Nil.	25

These figures portray interesting conclusions. Progress, even, of the first object of the Commission, namely decision and investigation of cases of sales of land brought before it, was unsatisfactory, as is clear from the proportion of pending cases to those decided by the Commission.

The most striking fact is the gradual and sometimes sharp decline in each successive month or year, in the number of fresh cases brought before it. No explanation has been given for it; but, it is possible that, when more work was piled up, fewer, petitions were entertained. Indeed, there is evidence to show that sometimes petitions were dismissed on mere grounds of formalities, or without[1] even a discussion of their merits.

It may also be concluded, that seeing how few were the cases decided, and how much their decision was delayed, people kept aloof from it. The number of cases pending, or freshly instituted at Allahabad was comparatively small, specially when the permutation of land was very extensive there also.

A perusal of the judgments delivered, reveals us several striking facts.

These pages are a gloomy but irrefutable commentary on the preceding period—from 1801 to 1810. They show how vast and deep laid were the conspiracies of subordinate Indian Officers, mainly Tehsildars, to defraud people of their lawful possessions, by dishonest sales, auctions and purchases of land, through their own interference, which had gone on unchecked under the colossal ignorance and ineffective control of the collectors. Estates could be sold for a triffling sum of two rupees. A government officer could amass, in the course of an year, an estate which paid a five figures revenue.

But, they display without a doubt that the judgments were carefully and diligently delivered, and that serious wrongs were redressed after a great lapse of time.

These statements are so clear and informative, that they, together with other records concerning the Commission, can be well utilised for the weaving of a historical account of the preceding period.

While, taking stock of the whole situation one fact juts out prominently. It is, that the amount of work done, in contrast to its objects, was unsatisfactory, and that its efficiency or efficacy could have been increased by

[1] Letter to Molony 5th July, 1826.

enlarging its scope.[1] It ought to have been provided with respectable Indian Officers, who alone could have led it into the labrynths of various tenures, rights and privileges, which were far too complicated for an outsider to understand. Failing that, European Assistants ought to have been provided with. When it was employing 88 subordinate servants, and spending over eight thousand rupees per month on the maintenance of its office alone, an addition of assistants would not have proved a drain, while it would have assuredly increased its efficiency considerably. When the whole machinery of the revenue department backed by Regulation VII, 1822 failed to achieve a similar object, how could have a temporary tribunal fulfilled the high responsibilities set before it?

The relations between the Mofussil and Sadar Special Commissions, also did not seem to have been clearly defined. This is clear from the correspondence that had gone on between them, and the occasions upon which the former addressed the Government when points of disagreement became untenable. It was as late as in 1828, that the Government intimated the Sadar Commission.[2] "Your decisions in questions of jurisdiction are final". This must have delayed judgments in many a case.

Indeed, the accumulation of a large number of cases must have[3] led to a suspence, and consequent disruption of agriculture.

The redress had undoubtedly come late. "Owing[4] to their ignorance of the arts and contrivance by which their lands had been wrested from them, and the length of time which had elapsed, the petitions presented to the Commission by the injured parties were obscure and defective in their statements." Hence, justice could not be meted out to them.

It was, also, certainly arguable that, now, when the estates, in many cases, had passed hands, why should the present owners, who had spent all their labour and money on them, have been deprived of their means of livelihood, for no fault of their own, and that the instruments of these ills should have been allowed to escape adequate punishment?

The Regulation seemed to be "premature"[5] in one sense, that unless something of the tenures and rights of the agricultural community was known, on what principles could the various claims be specified? On what could the investigations be based upon? How could the various pretensions or conflicts be cleared up? The knowledge about them had been meagre and uncertain. The inquiries as regards both the objects of the Commission had to be conducted simultaneously. That made its position anamalous, and its task so difficult that the decision and investigation of the cases alone took the major time of the Commission; and that too was limited to the two districts of Allahabad and Cawnpore.

But, considering the circumstances that it was placed in, we must acknowledge the great good done by the Commission. In fairness to it, it should be mentioned that Mr. Bird[6] refuted Ross's allegations by pointing that the average of the Commission in deciding cases per month had been 14,

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[1] For instance, cases of similar nature happening after 1810 were not entertained by the Commission.
[2] Letter from Mackenzie, Secretary to Government to Sadar Special Commission.
[3] Letters issued February 1821—December 1821, Folio I.
[4] Government Records, 1821.
[5] Letter by W. W. Bird, 13th February 1826.
[6] Letter by W. W. Bird 10th July 1826. This letter ought to have published alongside of the Minute of Mr. Ross in the Government Revenue Records, 1821.

and not 8, and that many pattidari claims had been investigated into. It also pointed out the past blunder of the Government in applying[1] English names to Indian titles—a notion which had resulted in a good deal of confusion. It corrected[2] mistakes then prevalent concerning the rights and tenures of Muqaddams, Maliks, Zamindars, and so on. It unfolded inhesitatingly details about a period which had hitherto been shrouded in ignorance, and which forced Mr. Holt Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government to confess, when questioned before the Joint Select Committee of the House of Commons, concerning the sales of land, "No body can tell what was sold in such cases. It is a puzzle to this day to say what was sold."

Above all, by admitting its own neglect, by laying bare details of the past before all and sundry and by encouraging people to get their grievances redressed, the Government freed[3] itself from a tinge of suspicion, and restored confidence in the agricultural community. Thus, the Commission became the fore runner of the great Regulation VII of 1822, which has been called the 'Magna Charta'[4] of the village communities in the North Western Provinces, and marked the entry of the Government into a brighter phase from a world of suspicion and confusion.

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1 Govt. Revenue Records 1821.

2 Letter to Molony from the Mofussil Commissioners.

3 Letter to Mr. Molony by W. W. Bird.

4 Notes on North-West Provinces by Charles Raikes.

NOTE.—The writer expresses his indebtedness to Mr. B. B. Singh, I.C.S., Secretary, Board of Revenue, Allahabad, for providing special facilities for consulting original records.

TARIKH-I-MOGHUL OF ASAD BEG.

(By Dr. Mohammad Aziz Ahmad, M.A., Ph. D.)

Tarikh-i-Moghul, Ahwal-i-Asad Beg, Halat-i-Asad Beg and *Wiqayi Asad Beg* all mean the same thing. The manuscript, which I have used, bears the name *Tarikh-i Moghul*, and which belongs to the Nawab-Abdus Salam Collection No. 270/40, Muslim University Library, Aligarh. The present manuscript is copied by Mohd. Naziruddin of the State Library, Rampur from the Manuscript of Tulsi Das (dated 22 Zulqadh, 1199 H/Sept. 25, 1785 A. D.) for the perusal of Sahibzada Abdus Salam Khan on May 18, 1901 A. D. (Muharram 29,1319 H.[1]). The Manuscript is copied in a clear and neat hand, and consists of 139 pages. It is 10″ by 6″ with 14 lines in each page.

The work is not unknown, and a copy of the Manuscript is also found in the British Museum. Only portions are translated and summarised by Elliot and Dowson[2], History of India, Vol VI (no reference is made as to the Manuscript used), which the later writers such as Smith[3] and others have utilised. The Manuscript, however, is rare and remains unpublished ; and its full use has not been made so far. The value of this work lies in the fact that it is quite contemporary and dates as far back as 1011 H/1602 A. D., the year of Abul Fazal's murder. Although the author was not present on the spot, yet none else could be better informed, and he remains the sole authority regarding the minute details about the murder of Abul Fazal. He has left a vivid description of the places he visited in the Deccan, and apart from the narration of political events of great importance at the close of Akbar's reign, he has also touched upon the social, cultural and administrative aspects of the country. Nothing important escapes his notice, which he does not, in his realistic and charming manner, sometimes poetically, describes. It is, in short, a valuable source of information for the history of the last years of Akbar and the beginning of the reign of Jahangir.

As regards the life of the author, suffice it to say that he was Asad Beg Kazvini, son of Mohammad Murad Beg Aqa Mulati.[4] He was known for his tact, intelligence and good behaviour, and was a man of exceptional character and ability. At the beginning of his career, he remained in the service of Abul Fazal for seventeen years. After the death of the Shaikh, he became a favourite of Akbar, who rewarded him for his meritorious service. Apart from the distinguished offices that he held at the Court, he was also appointed the Emperor's *Hajib* (messenger) to the four provinces of the Deccan. At the close of the reign of Akbar and the accession of Jahangir, he was not admitted to the royal Court, but towards the close of the latter reign he was honoured with the title of *Musharruf Khan.*[4] He died in 1041 H/1631 A. D., the commencement of the rule of Shah Jahan.

Asad Beg narrates his story as follows :—

" Shaikh Abul Fazal son of Shaikh Mubarak was killed at Sarai Barar, a dependency of Sironj, at prayer time on Friday, the 7th Rabi-ul-awwal 1011[5] H/25th Aug., 1602 A. D.[6] when the news[7] of the murder was conveyed to the Emperor

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[1] Mss. p. 139.
[2] History of India as told by her own Historians—Elliot & Dawson, Vol. VI, pp. 150 to 174.
[3] Smith—Akbar the Great Moghul, pp. 305, 307, 321, 322 & 327.
[4] Mss. p. 19.
[5] *Ibid* 139.
[6] Elliot & Dawson, Vol. VI, p. 155 give a wrong date *i.e.* 1010; it is in fact 1011 H or 1602 A. D.
[7] Mss. p. 2. "در وقت نماز جمعه هفتم ربیع الاول سنه ۱۰۱۱ه در نواحی سرائے برار توابع سرونج شہید شد"

Akbar, he was shocked and spent the whole day and night in lamenting and mourning."[1] The Emperor then issue a *firman*, calling upon Asad to hasten to the Court.[2]

Asad Beg explains the situation thus—"The Shaikh acting upon the treacherous advice of Gopal Das proceeded from Sirong unguarded, and left his own troops under my command to fight against Indrajit Bundela. I begged permission to escort him to Gwalior, but the Shaikh did not approve of it, and presenting me a robe of honour and a horse left me at Sirong."[3] The Shaikh reached Sarai Barar ; a *Jogi* appeared before him and informed him of the arrival of Nar Sirgh Bundela. Next day,[4] which was Friday, the footmen of Bundela attacked his camp from the rear :[5] all were perplexed as to what to do the Shaikh intended to fly, but as they halted, the enemy reached with 500 horse.[6] There was a fight, and a Rajput pierced the Shaikh's back with a spear. The wound was fatal. He had still life in him, when Nar Singh apprcached and seeing the Shaikh got down from his horse and putting his head over his knees began wiping his face with his Turban. As Shaikh's eye fell on Nar Singh, the latter said,' You are wanted by Jahangir.' They then fell on the Shaikh, and cut off his head."[7]

The next day, Asad started from Sironj towards Indrajit Bundela, brother of Nar Singh.[8] At this stage, say a few days after the Shaikh's murder, the royal orders reached him to return to the Capital.[9] On reaching the Capital, Asad was ordered to explain the situation through Raja Ramdas.[10] "You were the right hand man of Abul Fazal", the Emperor asked "where were you at the time of need ? I shall not let you free." Asad represented "Your Majesty, I did not hesitate for fear of death, for no death could be better than that."[11] The Emperor again asked, "why did you leave the Allama ?" Asad humbly replied, "Proceeding from Rahira, I and Mehdi Ali reached Sirong, where Gopal Das was staying. The latter said, "Asad Beg and party should stay here and occupy this territory as *Jagir*, and may thus wreck vengeance on the Bundelas. And these troops along with my brother be forwarded [13] in attendance upon the Shaikh ". I agreed provided they conducted the *Sahib* (Abul Fazal) safely to the Court. I was ordered to proceed against Indrajit Bundela, but it happened what was destined to happen."[13] The Emperor ordered that no other servant of the Shaikh excepting Asad be pardoned. He was granted an interview[14] and he read out the following verse :—

دسترس ما بتو کایم و بینم میشوم امل تو بیم کہ تو رسیند

(We long to see you ; but as we are helpless, we turn back and meet those, who have seen you). The Emperor was pleased, and granted him a robe of honour.[15] He then presented to the Emperor a chest full of jewels, which belonged to the late Allama.[16] On an inquiry regarding his salary, Asad replied, "I was raised to a

[1] Mss. p. 2.
[2] *Ibid* p. 3.
[3] *Ibid* p. 5.
[4] *Ibid* p. 7.
[5] *Ibid* p. 8.
[6] *Ibid* p. 9.
[7] *Ibid* p. 10.
[8] *Ibid* p. 11.
[9] *Ibid* p. 12.
[10] *Ibid* p. 14.
[11] *Ibid* p. 15.
[12] *Ibid* p. 16.
[13] *Ibid* p. 17.
[14] *Ibid* p. 18.
[15] *Ibid* p. 20.
[16] *Ibid* p. 21.

thousand." He was given the position of *Yurbashi* and twenty horse,[1] and was further promoted.[2]

Asad was appointed to investigate into the conduct of the officers, who had been despatched under Ray-Rayan to chastise Nar Singh, but had failed. Nar Singh escaped through the lines of the Raja of Gwalior. Five *firmans* were handed over to him (1) to Ray-Rayan (2) Raj Singh, (3) Raja Bhadvaha, (4) Ziaul Mulk Bakhshi and (5) *Amirs* and *Mansabdars.*[3] Asad proceeded and made his inquiries. He then returned to the Capital, and reported himself to Raja Ram Das, who conducted him to the Royal presence. Asad submitted that there had been neglect all along, and all were equally guilty.[4]

Asad was next commissioned to bring back Mir Jamaluddin Husain from the Deccan, who was sent on a mission to Adil Khan of Bijapur to arrange the marriage of Prince Danayal with the daughter of the ruler of Bijapur.[5] The Mir prolonged the matter and made unnecessary delay. Asad started and reached Ujjan, where he was welcomed by Mirza Shah Rukh.[6] Passing through Burhanpur, he arrived at Bijapur and presented the royal message to Adil Khan,[7] who replied that Jamalu-d-din was himself to blame.[8] Here Asad gives a vivid description of the city of Bijapur—its *bazars*, fort, gardens, castles, courts and its ceremonies, jewels and ornaments, and the ruler and the ruled.[9] Asad, subsequently visited Ahmad Nagar, the fort of which was reorganised and rearranged under the care of Prince Danayal.[10] The Prince granted Asad an interview in the open *Darbar*[11]. Leaving Ahmad Nagar, Asad at length started for the royal Court, and fell ill during the journey, but soon recovered.[12]

On account of the death of Maryam-i-Makani, the Emperor along with his courtiers had shaven their beards, technically known as *Bhaddra.*[13] Asad also did the same, and presented him before the Emperor.[14] He brought some tobacco from Bijapur, and prepared a handsome pipe. The Emperor, while examining the rarities from the Deccan came across that tobacco. Asad was ordered to prepare a pipeful, and the Emperor smoked it against the instructions of the physician.[15] The *Amirs* became so addicted to it, that merchants began dealing and brought tobacco from the Deccan.[16] About this time the news of the death of Prince Danayal reached the royal Court.[17]

One night when music was being played in the *Buri*, Asad whispered into the ears of Raja Ram Das. "Adil Khan asked me whether Mian Tansin and his party perform their singing standing or sitting in the presence of the Emperor." Akbar overheard it and appreciated it. Asad was next ordered to proceed to the Deccan

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[1] Mss. p. 22.
[2] *Ibid* p. 26.
[3] *Ibid* pp. 26, 27.
[4] *Ibid* pp. 31, 32.
[5] *Ibid* p. 34.
[6] *Ibid* p. 37.
[7] *Ibid* p. 53.
[8] *Ibid* p. 55.
[9] *Ibid* pp. 58 to 62.
[10] *Ibid* p. 76.
[11] *Ibid* p. 78.
[12] *Ibid* pp. 82, 83.
[13] *Ibid* p. 86. "بجهت قضیهٔ ناگزیز حضرت عفیفه مرحومه مریم مکانی چند روز قبل ازان آنحضرت با تمام مقربان مخلص بهدرا نموده"
[14] *Ibid* p. 88.
[15] *Ibid* pp. 89, 90.
[16] *Ibid* p. 92.
[17] *Ibid* pp. 97, 98.

with the royal *firmans* addressed to the governors of the Deccan[1], namely, Bijapur, Golcanda, Bidar and the Carnatic, as also to bring back Jamaluddin and the daughter of Adil Khan.[2] Asad, pressing through the territory of Raja Bhoj, reached as far as Khati and as a result of a fight the latter's nephew was killed and the Rajputs scattered in all directions on his (Asad's) arrival on the spot.[3] Passing through Qasim Katahra in the dependency of Ujjan, Asad reached Ujjan proper[4] to the presence of Mirza Shah Rukh. After a stay of four days, the news of the death of Emperor Akbar reached there.[5] Asad marched towards Burhanpur with great difficulty being molested by Shah Ali Bakhshi on the way, Shah Rukh, perforce, despatched a force of 500 horse to conduct him safe to the banks of the Narbada.[6] At Burhanpur, he was greeted by its ruler Khwaja Abul Hassan.[7]

During the mortal illness of Akbar, Raja Man Singh and Khan-i-Azam intrigued to place Prince Khusro on the throne,[8] but Sayyid Khan and others represented, 'It is contrary to the traditions of the Chaghtai clan to elevate a son, when his father Salim, an illustrious prince is himself alive'.[9] The Assembly rose, and Raja Ram Das immediately went to guard the Treasury for Prince Khusro. Akbar in his death agonies, pointed to Jahangir as his successor. Finding a change in the state of affairs, Ram Das packed Khusro to Bengal.[10] Jahangir despatched Madho Singh, brother of Ram Das to assure them and bring them back. Both Ram Das and Khusro were presented to the Court, and were treated with kindness by Jahangir.[11]

Now Asad was ordered to pay his homage to the Emperor. The reason being that Beju and other Amirs were appointed by Akbar to investigate into the conduct of Adil Khan, but when they learnt the news of the Emperor's death, they hastened back to Agra.[12] When inquired, they replied that they retraced their steps hearing the news of his (*i.e.* Jahangir's) accession to the throne and that Asad proceeded to Burhanpur.[13] Asad presented him before the Emperor, Jahangir, who, at length, through the intervention of the *Amir-ul-Umra*, Sharif Khan, pardoned him. Thus the story of Asad Beg ends with the accession of Jahangir.[14]

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[1] Mss. p. 98.
[2] *Ibid* p. 99.
[3] *Ibid* p. 104.
[4] *Ibid* p. 105.
[5] *Ibid* p. 106.
[6] *Ibid* p. 107.
[7] *Ibid* p. 110.
[8] *Ibid* p. 131.
[9] *Ibid* p. 133.
[10] *Ibid* p. 136.
[11] *Ibid* p. 137.
[12] *Ibid* p. 122.
[13] *Ibid* p. 123.
[14] *Ibid* p. 126.

SOME NEW LIGHT ON THE TREATY OF BHYROWAL (DEC. 16. 1846) THROWN BY THE PRIVATE LETTERS OF SIR HENRY HARDINGE

(By Sardar Ganda Singh, M. A.)

It had been stipulated in Article I of the supplementary Articles of Agreement concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, on the 11th of March, 1846, that "The British Government shall leave at Lahore, till the close of the current year, A.D. 1846, such force as shall seem to the Governor General adequate for the purpose of protecting the person of the Maharaja, and the inhabitants of the City of Lahore, during the reorganization of the Sikh army, in accordance with the provisions of Article 6 of the Treaty of Lahore; that force to be withdrawn at any convenient time before the expiration of the year, if the object to be fulfilled shall, in the opinion of the Durbar, have been obtained; but the force shall not be retained at Lahore beyond the expiration of the current year"[1].

As the year 1846 drew towards its close, the Lahore Durbar began to concert measures for the new arrangements to be made for the Government of the Punjab after the withdrawal of the British Troops as stipulated above. Sir Henry Hardinge, on the other hand, wished, for political reasons, to retain the British troops in the Punjab, and to tighten the British control over the country. The Queen-mother, Maharani Jind Kaur, who acted as Regent for her minor son, the Maharaja Duleep Singh, was also in favour of the retention of the British troops under the terms of the then existing treaties of the 9th and 11th March 1846, as long as, according to Article 15 (9th March), "the British Government will not exercise any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore State—but in all cases or questions which may be referred to the British Government, the Governor General will give the aid of his advice for the furtherance of the interests of the Lahore Government."[2] Henry Lawrence tells us in his report of 17th December, 1846, that "till within the last few days, no one has expressed a more anxious desire for our stay than the Maharani; and even on the day (5th December, 1846)[3] following that on which Rajah Lal Singh was deposed from the Wazarut, and her grief was at the worst, she declared to me, when I called on her, that she would leave the Punjab when we did".

But apparently she was soon disallusioned about the intentions of Sir Henry Hardinge who aimed at giving to the British Resident "unlimited authority in all matters of internal administration and external relation," which, for all practical purposes, meant the end of the Sikh State, the Darbar, the Queen-mother, and the Maharaja all reduced to nonenties. And, therefore, there was a marked change in the attitude of the Maharani and the Chiefs of the Darbar. The price that they were required to pay for the continuance of the British force at Lahore by transfer of all control in internal and external matters into the British hands was prohibitive. Translated in political terms, it was a conversion of the independent State of the Punjab into a Province of the Government of British India. This gave a more active turn to the inclinations of Maharani Jind Kaur, and, in the words of Sir Henry Lawrence, "During the last day or two, her whole energies have been devoted to an endeavour to win over the Sirdars of high and low degree, and unite them al together in a scheme of independent government, of which she herself was to be the

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[1] Aitchison, *Treaties*, 1892, Vol. IX, No. XVII, pp. 43-4

[2] Aitchison, *Treaties*, 1892, Vol. IX, No. XVI, p. 42.

[3] Lal Singh was removed from *Wazarat* on the 4th December, 1846 *Trial of Raja Lal Singh* (Punjab Govt. Record Office monograph No. 16) p. 26.

head. In this her chief aid and counsellor has ostensibly been Dewan Deena Nath, ever ill-disposed to the English, and now probably contemplating with alarm the possibility of our becoming the guardians of the young Maharaja, and—what he would less like—the guardians of the exchequer "[1].

But Sir Henry Hardinge was determined, as his private letters to Frederick Currie tell us, to assume all and full powers and to place the new Resident on the footing of a then Lieutenant Governor of a British Indian Province like the U. P. From Camp Bhyrowal, on the 10th December 1846, he wrote to Currie, then at Lahore in connection with the trial of Lall Singh. " I have no doubt on the subject. You are the person best qualified to ensure the success of a British administration under novel and difficult circumstances in the Punjab, and in such case I should place you on the same footing as the Lt. Governor ".

Currie reported to him the unwillingness of the chiefs of the Darbar to agree to the new arrangements proposed by the British Government. Sir Henry Hardinge acknowledges to be in the know of this unwillingness of the Darbar in his letter of the 10th December when he says that " the coyness of the Durbar and the Sirdars is very natural." This should have been sufficient for him to withdraw the British force from the Punjab, as agreed upon in the last sentences of the first Article of the Agreement of 11th March 1846 which laid down for the " force to be withdrawn at any convenient time before the year, if the object to be fulfilled shall, *in the opinion of the Durbar*, have been obtained ; but the force shall not be retained at Lahore beyond the expiration of the current year ". Now *the opinion of the Durbar* was not for active hearty willingness to agree to the new arrangements being proposed, and the current year, 1846 A.D. was also about to expire. The Maharani was also within her rights to endeavour to enlist the sympathies of the Sirdars " and unite them all together in a scheme of independent government ". But Henry Hardinge would not only not withdraw the British troops from Lahore, but wished to tighten his grip on the State of the Punjab, apparently for political exigencies. But he would not do it in a straight forward manner, himself making the proposal on behalf of the British India Government to the Lahore Durbar, asking for the retention of the British troops in the Punjab and for unlimited control over their country. He wanted to give to the world outside a different appearance to the new arrangement. He wanted to show that he was agreeing to it at the express request of the Lahore Durbar. He wrote to Currie, therefore, that " The coyness of the Durbar is very natural, but it is very important that the proposal should originate with them—and in any document proceeding from them this admission must be stated in clear and unqualified terms ; our reluctance to undertake a heavy responsibility must be set forth. The delay of a few days is not important as I may hear from Sir John Hobhouse by the mail hourly expected "[2].

Apparently finding that the Durbar could not be easily brought round to make the required request to cover his wishes, the Governor General desired in his private letter of the 12th December to Currie to " *Persevere in your line of making the Sikh Durbar propose the condition or rather their readiness to assent to any conditions imposed as the price of the continuance of our support.* In the preamble of the Supplementary Arts. this solicitation must clearly be their act ".

The Queen-mother Maharani Jind Kaur was considered a big stumbling block in the smooth operation of the plans of the Governor General and his political agent at Lahore. He had, therefore, written to Currie from his Camp at the Bridge across the Beas, on the 7th December 1846, that " in any arrangement made for con-

[1] Henry Lawrence to Government, 17th Dec. 1846.
[2] 10th December, 1846.

tinuing the occupation of Lahore, her deprivation of power is an indispensable condition." On the 10th he questioned the right of the Maharani to be the Regent of her son Maharaja Duleep Singh. "I am not aware," he said, "by what formal proceedings the Ranee became Regent—I presume by the unquestioned and natural position in which she stood as the mother and the guardian of the Prince." He further suggested that "If the Sirdars and influential chiefs, and especially the Attareewala family, urge the B. Govt. to be guardian of the Maha-Raja during his minority, the Ranee's power will cease silently and quietly, the admission being recorded that the Br. Govt. as the guardian of the Boy and administering the affairs of the State is to exercise all the functions and possess all the power of the Regent acting on behalf of the Prince".

To win the assent and adhesion of the chiefs to the conditions proposed to be imposed on the state of the Punjab, Sir Henry guaranteed the continuance of their Jagirs and wrote to Currie on the 14th December, 1846, from Camp Bhyrowal: "The guarrantee to the chiefs of their Jagheers by British occupation must, I should think, be a powerful stimulous to ensure their adhesion to the conditions imposed."

This appears to have had the desired effect on some of the Sardars, coupled with the fear that had been instilled in their minds by the banishment of Raja Lal Singh during the previous week as punishment for his opposition to the British plans.

To make a show to the Lahore Darbar that the British troops garrisoned at Lahore were on the move, Sir Henry Hardinge issued instructions for certain military movements. In his private letter dated Camp Bhyrowal, Dec. 12th 1846, he wrote to Mr. Currie:

"I send this by express to desire that the Regt. of N. I., the two guns and the Irreg. Cav. escorting Lal Singh may *not return to Lahore.*

"These troops will cross the Sutlege and encamp at Ferozepoor till further orders, and the troops ordered from Ferozepoor to Kussoor will be countermanded.

"*My object is to give the Lahore Durbar a hint, that the garrision is on the move.*

"I also authorize you to send away another Regt. of N. I. from Lahore to Ferozepoor, there to encamp till further orders and not to be relieved by any Regt. from Ferozepoor.

"H. M. 80th Regt. will receive orders to be ready to march for Meerut at any moment. H. M. 10th are at Ferozepoor ready to relieve them—but will not move up till ordered, nor will it transpire that they are intended to relieve the 80th.

"These announcements will be made to accelerate the Durbar decision.

"In selecting the 2nd Regt. of N. I. which is to march on Ferozepore, the move ought to be made by the Regt. which has the longest march into the interior of Hindostan.

"I enclose a note from Lord Gough, which you will send with a note from yourself in case you deem it expedient to send away a second Regt., not forgetting that these 2 Regts., Cavy. and Artly., sent from Lahore are not to be relieved *at present* from Ferozepore."

On the 14th December, 1846, Sir Henry told Mr. Frederick Currie in a private letter:

"I authorize you to desire Sir John Littler to move all the troops out of Lahore the end of the week, on the day you may judge to be most expedient (except the 80th) encamping them as near as convenient to the citadel.

"*If this hint should be unnecessary by the temper of the chiefs to assent to our views, it will not be made.*"

In the meantime some of the Sirdars had yielded to the pressure of Henry Lawrence and Frederick Currie. Sardar Sher Singh Attariwala had been made in-charge of the Royal palace in the fort of Lahore, and Tej Singh who had been made a Raja by the British, was of their own creation. They would not agree to the proposal of the Maharani being placed at the head of the state, while Diwan Dina Nath belonged to the loyalist party and favoured the elimination of the British control. There was a sharp division between the two. Apparently as a compromise, it was agreed to ask the Governor General to permit the Agent with two battalions to continue for some months, and the letter written on behalf of Maharaja Duleep Singh to Frederick Currie, Secretary to the Government of India, then at Lahore, on 30th Maghar 903 Bikrami, corresponding to 14th December 1846, in reply to the G. G.'s letter of the 9th December, ended with the following paragraph :

"As the Governor General is desirous of maintaining this state, it is not proper that the whole of the British force stationed here should be put to further inconvenience and annoyance. Nevertheless, with regard to the necessity for establishing the Government of the country and the fact of the time for the withdrawal of troops having arrived, it is hoped, that the agent, with two battalions, and one regiment of Cavalry and one battery, may be allowed to continue for some months, during which, what remains to be done to complete the organization of the Government in an efficient manner may be effected, and there is no doubt that Colonel Lawrence will according to the provisions of the Treaty, give every aid and assistance in establishing the Government."[1]

Sir Henry Hardinge was much upset to hear of the above from Frederick Currie. Evidently it was against his plans to help the Sikh Government for some months more to enable them to so organize their government as to be able to run it without British intervention. Therefore, he wrote back to him on the same evening at 5 O'clock p.m. :—

"It is my positive determination not to employ a British garrison in carrying on a native administration in the Punjab of which we have recently experienced so many instances of inefficiency, injustice and intrigue. I, therefore, will not consent to lend the aid of British troops to support a system on which no reliance can be placed.

"The proposal made of the aid of two regts. of Inf., one of Cav. and one Battery of Artillery *is so absurd, that I consider it as equivalent to a desire to undertake the management of their own affairs, without our intervention.*

"The chiefs are the sole judges in this affairs. I am ready to withdraw every man in faithful observance of the Treaty, and altho' I do not say that modifications in the instructions may not be sanctioned by me, after a full and deliberate hearing of the reasons which the chiefs may have to allege in favour of any alteration, nevertheless I will not consent to a force less in amount than 9 Battns. of Inf. with the present force of Artillery and Cavly. remaining at Lahore.

"I am the best judge of what force I consider it prudent to retain at Lahore, and you may rest their rejections of my conditions on the preliminary questions of the number of troops required for the occupation.

"The 9 Battns. may be reduced at the same time with other portions of the Inf. force to 800 r. & f. each, but those details are not dependent upon their consent. The sum to be paid will be independent of the no. of men to aviod all cavil, and the force will be kept up or not to 10,000 men, as the British Govermnemt may from time to time determine.

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[1] *Papers relating to the Punjab* 1844-47.

"I would recommend you to take up your ground on the amount of force and the amount of money to be paid by the Lahore Government for its expenses before you enter into other matters.

"I have written to you without an instant of hesitation as to the course to be pursued, and I authorize you to leave Lahore if on these two points you cannot obtain satisfactory answers."

In the course of the day, 14th December, 1846, Frederick Currie had replied in a most diplomatic manner to the Maharaja's letter with reference to its last paragraph quoted above, calling it "The request of your Highness." He wrote:

"The request of your Highness that a portion of the British force now at Lahore, and the Agent of the Governor General, should remain after the expiration of the stipulated time, which measures your Highness states to be necessary for the establishment of the Government of the country, involves a departure from the provisions of the Articles of Agreement executed on the 11th March last, and is a very important matter.

"It seems to me desirable that the chiefs of the Darbar, with the Sardars interested in the welfare of the Lahore State, should assemble at my Darbar tent, tomorrow, when I will lay before them distinctly the only conditions on which the Governor General will consent to a modification of the articles of agreement above referred to; and it will be well that these chiefs and the Sardars should be prepared to give a conclusive acquiescence or rejection of the said conditions, in order that the affair may be concluded, and the necessary orders given regarding the movement of the British force.[1]"

Armed with the positive determination and views of the Governor General conveyed to him in his private letters, Frederick Currie held a Darbar of the chiefs of the Darbar, and other Sardars of the state on the morning of the 15th December 1846 and read out to them a paper which contained "the only conditions" of the Governor General proposed to be imposed on the state of the Punjab in response to the "request" of the Maharaja.

Without much discussion all agreed. Dissentient voice there was none to be. By "perseverence" "in making the Sikh Durbar propose the condition or rather their readiness to assent to any conditions imposed," and by offers and "guarrantee to the chiefs of their Jagheers by British occupation," and by superior diplomacy the proposal itself had been managed to be made by the Darbar and the assent of the chiefs had been arranged previously. If there were any opposition to come, it was from the Regent, the Queen-mother Maharani Jind Kaur. And she was studiedly and sternly ignored in these negotiations and consultations which were to shape the future of her son Maharaja Duleep Singh and the Government of Lahore under a British Resident who, as the paper read out by Mr. F. Currie, Secretary to the Government of India, declared, "must have full authority to interfere in, and to control all matters, in every department of the state."

"This proposition being communicated to the assembly," writes Henry Lawrence in his report of the 17th December, to Government in the person of Mr. Currie, "Dewan Dena Nath expressed a wish to adjourn, in order that they might take the opinion of the Maharani; but you informed him that the Governor General was not asking the opinion of the Queen-mother, but of the Sirdars and Pillars of the State." This stern and strong hint from the Secretary to the Government was enough to indicate to the assembled chiefs and Sardars the mind and the attitude of the Government and to silence any dissentient voice.

[1] F. Currie to H. M. Lawrence, 14th December 1846—Punjab Govt. Records Office monograph No. 16, appendix IX, p. xviii.

A small trifling reduction of two lacs in the amount of 24 lacs of rupees per annum demanded by the Governor General for the maintenance of the British force in the Punjab was the only modification made in the conditions imposed, which were other wise agreed to by the Darbar *in toto*. And the proposed Treaty, afterwards called the *Treaty of Bhyrowal*, was concluded on the following day, the 16th December, 1846.[1]

On hearing from Frederick Currie that his Secretary, Currie himself, and Political Agent Henry Lawrence had succeeded in carrying through his wishes and views regarding the future of the Punjab by placing the country at his feet, and at his mercy, Sir Henry Hardinge wrote to him as follows in his private letter dated Camp Bhyrowal, December 16, 3 O' clock p.m.

"My dear Currie,

I have received your letter of the 15th morning written *before* the conference with the Sirdars, and the translated copy of the Persian Paper which you had laid before them containing the conditions—and I have also received your letter of the 15th, written after the meeting with the Sirdars which reached me at 8 O'clock this morning.

" The result deserves my most unqualified approbation—and I shall be happy to record another instance of approved ability, zeal, temper and judgment you have shown, aided by the local experience, reputation and well established influence of Lt. Col. Lawrence, whenever I receive your official report. It is quite impossible to have brought this affair to a more satisfactory conclusion.

" Your intimate knowledge of my sentiments, and the concurrence of our views in Punjab Politics, have enabled you most successfully to realize all the objects I had in view, not only in the substance of the arrangements made, but in the form of the proceeding, for you have conducted this matter so judiciously that the truth and sincerity of the policy cannot be brought into doubt or the Honour of the Government any impeachment. This Hindoo state has another opportunity afforded to it of establishing its Government and at the same time of securing by honourable means the tranquility of this frontier, and, I may hope, of all India.

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[1]. Among other things, the Treaty of Bhyrowal stipulated that :

" *Article 2*—A British officer, with an efficient establishment of assistants, shall be appointed by the Governor General to remain at Lahore, which officer shall have full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the state."

" *Article 5*.—The following persons shall in the first instance constitute the council of Regency .....and no change shall be made in the persons thus nominated, without the consent of the British Resident, acting under the orders of the Governor General. "

" *Article 7*.—A British force, of such strength and numbers, and in such positions, as the Governor General may think fit, shall remain at Lahore for the protection of the Maharaja, and the preservation of the peace of the country. "

" *Article 8*.—The Governor General shall be at liberty to occupy with British soldiers any fort or military post in the Lahore territories, the occupation of which may be deemed necessary by the British Government for the security of the Capital and maintaining peace of the country.",

" *Article 9*.—The Lahore state shall pay to the British Government twenty-two lacs of new Nanakshahi rupees of full tale and weight per annum for the maintenance of this force, and to meet the expenses incurred by the British Government....."

" *Article 10*.—Inasmuch as it is fitting that Her Highness the Maharani, the mother of Maharaja Duleep Singh, should have a proper provision made for the maintenance of herself and her dependants, the sum of one lac and 50,000 rupees shall be set apart annually for the purpose, and shall be at Her Highness' disposal. "

" *Article 11*.—The provisions of this engagement shall have effect during the minority of His Highness Maharaja Duleep Singh, and shall cease and terminate on His Highness attaining the full age of 16 years, or on the 4th September, 1854 ; ..... "

"The moral effect of the Sikh Chiefs entreating the British Government to become the Guardian of their Prince, by the continuance of a British garrison at Lahore and our consent to undertake the responsible charge must be felt throughout Asia in raising the reputation and extending the influence of the British character.

"Personally I may regret that it has not been my fate to plant the British standard on the Banks of the Indus. I have taken the less ambitious course, and I am consoled by the reflection that I have acted right in the interests of England and of India.

"Be the judgment what it may, as far as I am concerned, the struggle between military feeling and political duty is over—and I will refer to matters of business.

"I quite concur in the trifling reduction to which you very properly consented in the sum to be paid for the troops.

"The point which may admit of some discussion relates to the disposal of the Ranee.

"It is quite proper and agreed upon between us that the lady should no longer exercise any power as Regent. The question is limited to the amount of the sum to be given for the suitable maintenance of the Maharaja's mother and the place of her residence. The diminished revenue of the state must be considered in apportioning the sum and this can be adjusted by the chiefs at once.

"As to her residence there is an objection to separate her from her son on the ground of her political intrigues, counteracting the measures of the new Government, as it may be said (and obtain sympathy) that she is punished in anticipation of any political offence which she has committed.

"I am [of] opinion that she will be more harmless at Lahore than in any other part of the Punjab. If she should become troublesome and her expatriation be justified, she must be sent across the Sutlege, in which case she might perhaps be domiciled in the Raja of Ladwas' House and occasionally see her son. As Runjeet's wife, and the mother of the Prince of *all the Sikhs*! I am disposed to act with caution, although the notoriety of her profligacy [*?*] by itself would be a strong case of justification. I don't think she would find an Alderman Wood to conduct her in triumph through the streets of Lahore.

"I have just seen John Lawrence. He seems to be of opinion that the new arrangement might be signed by the Maha-Raja coming to this Camp and seeking me, followed by my paying him in return a friendly visit at Umritsir or Lahore. I should prefer this course, because I should like with Sir J. Littler to visit the works at Lahore and make an arrangement better calculated to keep the sepoys and the Town's people separate.

"In the long run, depend upon it, the town's people will like us the better, the more we are separated from them."

(Then follow details of the movements of troops.)

"If there should be any feeling that the distance is too great or the submission of signing the Treaty in the B. territory an act of dignity, I am quite ready to go to Umritsir,—but after the Cashmeir affairs; I rather think the meeting here is the most politic course. Settle it as you think best after consultations with the Chiefs, etc.

* * * * *

"Again, my dear Currie let me express the cordial and affectionate regard for all the valuable services you render to me, and above all to the state.

" In closely examining this piece of diplomatic work, I cannot find that you have omitted a single point.

* * * * *

Yours very sincerely,

Hardinge. "

The above is the last of the private letters of Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor General of India to Mr. Frederick Currie, Secretary to the Government of India, then on deputation to Lahore on the subject of the Treaty of Bhyrowal, and which throw so much of new light on it.

We had been told in the preamble of the Treaty, the public correspondence and official documents, and in the books on the history of that period, that " the Lahore Darbar and the Principal chiefs and Sirdars of the state have, in express terms, communicated to the British Government their anxious desire that the Governor General should give his aid and his assistance to maintain the administration of the Lahore state during the minority of Maharajah Dulleep Singh, and have declared this measure to be indispensable for the maintenance of the government," and that Lord Hardinge had given " reluctant assent " to it. But now we know from a study of the private letters of Sir Henry Hardinge that the Lahore Darbar had no such " anxious desire " in the beginning and that it was only after the chiefs and Sardars had been worked upon for some time that a letter was written on behalf of Maharaja Duleep Singh, on the 14th December 1846 saying : " it is hoped, that the Agent, with two battalions, and a regiment of Cavalry, and one battery, may be allowed to continue for some months, during which what still remains to be done to complete the organization of the Government in an efficient manner may be effected." But Sir Henry Hardinge refused this aid " for some months. " He would either give no aid at all or retain a ten times larger force, " at liberty to occupy with British soldiers any fort or military post," keep a British Resident " with full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the state," become the guardian of the Maharaja, deprive the Queen-mother of all power as the Regent and stay in the country for about eight years, receiving not less than twenty-two lacs of rupees a year. Finding the Darbar coy to agree to the wishes of the G. G., Frederick Currie was asked to " persevere in your line of making the Durbar propose the condition or rather their readiness to assent to any conditions imposed as the price of the continuance of our support." He was further directed to see that " in the preamble of the supplementary Articles this solicitation must clearly be their act." And ultimately all this was so diplomatically managed as to give it the desired appearance.

A PLEA FOR THE STUDY OF LOCAL RECORDS AND TRADITIONS.

(By Mr. Sri Ram Sharma, M. A.)

The general conception of history in India has so long been confined to its political side alone that very few historians seem to realise that history in India, as elsewhere, must concern itself not only with an account of all the recorded activities of man in the past, but with the unrecorded ones as well. Dr. T. G. P. Spear in putting in a plea for the study of local records last year tried to bring out the value of all recorded activities even of the minor actors in the great drama of a country's life. I want to plead to-day for the study and collection of another now too fast vanishing source of history, particularly of social history, the local traditions recorded or unrecorded.

Anyone who has had an opportunity of roaming over the countryside in India must have realised how rich the country is in its local lore. Take for example the question of place names first. It might be difficult sometimes to make the name of a locality tell us anything. Some may even argue that a rose would smell as well by another name. But enshrined in the names of some of the localities there may be tales not only worth telling but sometimes worth finding a place even in a general history of the country as well. Very often these names are very suggestive. An Una (not full) an Anand Pur (the city of bliss), and a Kirat Pur (a city of repute) all in the district of Hoshiarpur in the Punjab remind us of certain phases of Sikh history while certain others are emphasized by Amritsar (the tank of nectar), Gurusar (the tank of the Guru), in the district of Amritsar in the Punjab. Nankana (of Nanak), Dera Baba Nanak (the abode of Baba Nanak) and a Kartarpur (the city of the creator) elsewhere tell similar tales. The connection of some of these names with Sikh history is too well known. But there are other less well known towns and villages as well where the local tradition records in the local names forgotten facts of history. The local tradition need not always be true. A *Panjgatra* in the district of Hoshiarpur need not necessarily have been included in the kingdom of Virat where the five Pandus spent their one year of concealment. A Bajwara, recorded history tells us, could not have been established by Bajibawra in Akbar's days for the very simple reason that it is mentioned in earlier days as well. Incidentally one might very well try to investigate the question whether Bajaur in the N. W. Frontier Province, Bajwara in the Punjab and Bezwada in Madras hearken back to one common origin.

It is absolutely necessary that an attempt should be made to try to record the tales the names of most places have to tell us. The migration of population not only in big cities but to some of the smaller cities as well might in some cases result in effacing all memory of earlier settlements in depopulated area. A China Ghati and a Bhikhowal are today only names of sites in the district of Hoshiarpur. But at one time the one might have preserved the local story of its connection with the Chinese or China and the other might as well have been able to tell us of a Bhikshu settlement.

In the Punjab at least much useful work was done in preserving local tradition when the first regular settlement of the land revenue took place. The detailed village accounts prepared at that time are very useful mines of information. A good deal can be learnt of the local traditions as they stood at the time when these records were compiled. They are an invaluable record of social history. But in the Punjab at least Settlement Officers were not always trained historians. They, or rather their subordinates recorded whatever the oldest men in the village had to

tell them. History of India to-day is much better known than it was in their days. It is necessary, therefore, that this work be again taken in hand by serious students of history who, though they should be ready to record again whatever they are told, should also be able to examine what they are told. If we cannot have a Place Name Society as in many countries in Europe we can easily pool our knowledge by publishing these results of our studies at these meetings of the Historical Records Commission.

Another question that can further be studied locally is that of local gods, godesses, musoleums, endowments and fairs. At the back of almost every endowment there is a story. Almost every fair has its legends though it might not always find a Jayaswal to unearth its meaning. The mausoleums Hindu and Muslim preserve memories of social life and usuages which it might be necessary for us to record to-day if we want to record them at all. The local *Pirs* as well as gods and godesses might once again remind us of a community of superstitious belief where there are neither Hindus nor Muhammadans but only plain human beings. The shrine of a Pir Nigaha (in the district of Kangra) might, for example, preserve the rather quaint tradition of a Muslim saint worshipped alike by the Hindus and the Muslims—as in many other places—through Muslim *Majawars* (intermediaries) who are made to part with the greater part of their earnings to the Hindu, the proprietors of the land where the tomb is situated. While I was working on a History of Mandi several years ago, the survey of local gods and godesses which I examined turned out to be a mine of ethnographical information.

Then there is the study of the interesting history preserved in the account of the migration of many families. How have some of the sub-castes or clans came to be dispersed all over the country ? Some family or national disaster might have always provided a reason for leaving rich populated towns and seeking shelter, sometimes in barren rocky dry mountains or even in sandy wastes. Even family disaster would very often turn out to be born of something connected, if not with the broad policy of the ruling dynasty, at least with some of its administrative practices. What led, for example, the Mehrash Brahmans of Batala to leave that rich town to seek shelter, say, at such a place as Jak Rera ? How was it that a Brahman Maratha priest left his homeland and turned up in the district of Kangra to found one of the most respectable of Rajput families in the Punjab is a question that certainly needs an answer. Enshrined in the traditions of many families are stories which are worth unearthing to-day before the new migration of families maps asunder the links of the present with the past.

Some family accounts are otherwise as were worth studying. While I was studying the history of Rajputana at Jodhpur, the late Munshi Devi Prashad told me of his unique collection of the horoscopes of several Mughal emperors, Hindu Chiefs and Officials. Their astrological value might be left to others to study. But they fixed the dates of birth of these worthies with a precision which cannot be easily shaken. He further told me of the account books of some of the Mutsaddi families in Rajputana whose ancestors accompanied a Man Singh or Jaswant Singh even to par off Kabul. I have not yet heard of their recovery but if they are unearthed what a rich source of social history they would prove besides being accidently, it might be, throwing light even on political questions. An ancestor of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Tek Chand of the High Court, Lahore, followed Raja Rajrup of Nurpur to Qanadahar when he went there in Shah Jahan's reign. What a flood of light would his account throw on the period if we could recover it! It might be able to let us into the secret of the failure of Mughal policy in Kabul to a larger extent than the accounts even of such a detailed history as Lataif-ul-Akhabar. Even fairly recent family accounts might tell us more about social life say in the early nineteenth

century that our usual source of information for such matters. Here is for example an interesting family account dating back to Aurangzeb's reign of an Aggarwal family of Khanna in the district of Ludhiana.

" Lala Mohan Lal our ancestor used to be a prosperous Cloth merchant and successful purveyor at Sirhind near Delhi. His income from both these sources exceeded Rs. 500 a month. This enabled him to build a good enclosed house of brick and stone as well as a commodious shop. Towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign Sikhs once made a night attack on Sirhind. The Fojdar Zain Khan, finding it impossible to resist them successfully fled from the city leaving it unprotected. The Sikhs plundered the city to their hearts' content and carried away a good deal of booty. Among those who fell a victim to their plundering zeal was Lala Mohan Lal. In the confusion that their raid created the family left Sirhind to seek safety elsewhere. But as ill luck would have it, Lala Mohan Lal was separated from the rest of his family. When he reached the Amloh, he spent his day under a banyan tree. At night as he lay awake cursing his stars, he found himself amidst a group of the Khan's servants running hither and thither in search for some medicine for the Khan of Amloh who was suffering from colitis. Fortunately Lala Mohan Lal had suceeded in taking a bag with him containing some medicines. He gave a powder to one of these servants who took that to the Khan who was cured of his severe pain in a short time.

" Next morning Lala Mohan Lal was brought before the Khan who asked him how he had happened to be there. He told the story of the Sikh sack of Sirhind. The Khan enquired after his family, when Lala Mohan Lal told him that though he knew nothing definite about them, he was sure they must be in the neighbourhood of Sirhind. The Khan at once deputed several of his horsemen to make a search for them. Within two days they succeeded in tracing them and bringing them back to Amloh. Mohan Lal was overjoyed at their reunion.

" The Khan gave him a house of mud and a shop where Mohan Lal now settled down to begin a new life. The Khan appointed him his store keeper. He was given a commission of 2 seers for every maund stored with him. This gave him a very decent living. He was soon able to build an extensive enclosed house of bricks with a well outside. He spent several years in peace here.

" Then the Sikhs began to organize themselves into plundering *Dals*. Mohan Lal had three sons. Bahadur joined a neighbouring plundering group of the Sikhs, Lalu became the accountant and store keeper of this Sikh *Dal*. All that this plundering band got was stocked at the shop at Amloh. Now the family prospered by their ill gotten gains. Mohan Lal's grandson Jai Bhagwan gave shelter to his brother-in-law who had fled from famine striken Patiala.

" Lala Mohan Lal was still alive and kicking. One day Raja Dasondha Singh of Khanna came to Amloh and tried to persuade him to open a shop at Khanna. But the Raja persisted and Mohan Lal agreed. The Raja sent a Rath, a cart and some horsemen to bring one of the members of the family to Khanna. Lalu Mal now accompanied them to Khanna where he settled down in peace. This was the first and the only shop at Khanna. As it prospered Lala Mohan Lal moved to Khanna.

" Lala Mohan Lal's two sons settled at Khanna. All the Aggarwals of Khanna trace their descent back to them. There was a small school at Khanna kept by a Muslim teacher mainly for the children of the local Chief. After the death of the Chief, Ali Ahmad was given a pension of Rs. 5 a month. I was his neighbour. He suggested to me one day that I should try to learn Persian. Among the Aggarwals a prejudice existed against studying Persian. It was said that whoever tried to

study Persian died young. My grand father tried to dissuade me from my resolve. But at sixteen youth is impulsive, I refused to be freightened. By hard application I was able to learn to read the prescriptions sent to our shop. Soon I gave up this work and became a teacher at Jagraon."

Along with this account which I was able to secure by courtesy of one of the members of the family, I got some pages of the family account book preserving the rates of various commodities as sold at this shop at Khanna more than a century ago which are exhibited herewith.

I am quite sure that if an extensive antiquarians' survey of the country is undertaken, we might be able to gather a good deal of useful material.

DIARY OF MIRZA SHAFI'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST SIKHS, FEBRUARY—JULY, 1780.

(From unpublished Persian Records.)

(By Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, M.A., B.T., Ph. D.)

By 1780 the Sikhs had become supreme in the vast tract of country lying between the Jumna and the Indus. They were carrying frequent plundering raids into the Gangetic Doab, and also approached to the very walls of the Imperial capital, Delhi. The Moghul Emperor, Shah Alam, felt very much exasperated at these depredations, as he was deprived of the revenues from his personal lands. The Sikhs also dried up the source of income of many imperial officials who held lands in the upper Doab. It was therefore considered imperative to put a stop to the Sikh aggressions in order to feed and maintain their soldiery. Several expeditions were organized against them from time to time. One of the most important of these is Mirza Shafi's campaign.

A brief account of this invasion is given by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar in the 3rd volume of his Fall of the Mughal Empire. But we have minute details, almost day to day, in Claud Martin's collection of Persian news letters available in the British Museum, and rotographed for Dr. Maharajkumar Raghubir Singh. I consulted these papers in his admirable collection at Sitamau. Here I have given only a short summary of these newsletters.

Mirza Muhammad Shafi was the grand nephew of Nawab Najaf Khan, the Chief Minister at Delhi. During Najaf's life-time he filled only subordinate posts but after his death he rose to greater importance. Shah Alam appointed him Regent and Subahdar of Agra. He held the high office of Mir Bakhshi from 15 September 1782 to 23 September 1783, when he was murdered at the instigation of Afrasiab Khan, the adopted son of Najaf Khan, who was Shafi's rival for supremacy at the royal court.

On this occasion, however, Najaf gave him charge of this important expedition. He had a force of selected 10,000 men with a strong park of artillery. But his position soon became indefensible. The Sikhs gathered strength everywhere, and Shafi's stores of powder and shot were exhausted. He had no money to restore confidence of his troops, while his appeals to Delhi for assistance went almost unheeded. As a consequence he was so terror-stricken that he kept himself close to the Jumna, never venturing to march into the heart of the Cis-Sutlej country. He ultimately returned without achieving anything. I have dealt with this campaign here only upto the beginning of the rainy season, when Shafi was ordered by the Delhi court to fix his headquarters at a certain place. This campaign was of course renewed about the end of the rains in September.

February, 1780.

15th.—Mirza Shafi marched from Meerut to Kandelah [1] (6 miles East of the Jumna in Muzaffarnagar district).

20th.—Mirza Shafi's letter from Kandelah was received announcing that the Sikhs intended to check his progress, and consequently reinforcements should be quickly dispatched.[2]

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[1] Ms. No. 25,020, 17*b*.
[2] *Ibid*, 28*b*.

21st.—Mirza Shafi writes that Dulcha Singh is lying encamped at the head of 500 horse 14 miles away from the Jumna.[1]

22nd.—Rai Singh's letter was received declaring that the Sikhs intended to cross the Jumna.[2]

28th.—A letter was dispatched to Mirza Shafi saying that the Sikhs wanted to go to Saharanpur, and that he should not interfere with them.[3]

29th.—Another letter was sent to Mirza Shafi, instructing him that he should fight if the Sikhs came to oppose him, but he should not take the initiative in this matter.[4]

March, 1780—

7th.—Mirza Shafi had an engagement with nearly 150 Sikh horse at Radaur (27 miles North of Karnal and 8 miles North-West of the Jumna). The Sikhs ultimately fled away. 1,000 Sikhs crossed the Jumna, and drove away 2,000 cattle from the town of Kot. The Mirza sent two battalions, and two pieces of cannon for the protection of the town.[5]

9th.—Mirza Shafi lay encamped in the village of Radaur while the Sikhs contoned 8 miles distant from him. Some Sikhs again crossed over the Jumna and drove away cattle from Lakhnauti. The Mirza received a letter from Diwan Singh and Baghel Singh saying that the crops were being ruined and Mirza Shafi would be held responsible for it.[6]

11th.—Mirza Shafi fought with the Sikhs the day previous, and about 70 persons were killed and wounded on both sides.[7]

13th.—Mirza Shafi decided to transfer his camp to Sikandara. The troops had marched only 5 miles, when the Sikhs fell upon them. Mirza Zain-ul-Abidin, (brother of Mirza Shafi) and Bagha Rao fought well. Then the Sikhs fled away. Eight horses of the Sikhs fell into the hands of the conquering heroes (غازیان) while the Sikhs carried off two camels and six ponies. About 20 persons of both sides were slain and wounded.[8]

14th.—This morning Mirza Shafi's troops marched to Nikobat (?), the headquarters of Rai Singh and Bhag Singh. Many skirmishes took place on the way. At midday the Mirza reached near the place, where he pitched his camp. The Sikhs then came back and encamped six miles away. All the Sikhs of Nikobat fled away to Jamalgarh with their families and property.[9]

15th.—The Mirza is encamped at Nikobat.[10]

16th.—A few cart and cattle loads of ammunition reached from Nawab Najaf Khan. In today's fight several persons of both parties were killed and wounded.[11]

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[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid*, 32*b*.
[3] *Ibid*, 36*b*. [هرگز از وشان مزاحم بنايد شد]
[4] *Ibid*, 38*b*.
[5] *Ibid*, 51*b*.
[6] *Ibid*. 54*a*.
[7] *Ibid*, 56*a*.
[8] *Ibid*, 57*b*.
[9] *Ibid*, 59*a-b*.
[10] *Ibid*, 60*b*.
[11] *Ibid*, 62*a-b*.

17th.—Ghulam Qadir Khan son of Zabitah Khan, crossed the Jumna and secured much booty from Nakum-Tabar.[1] (Nakum is situated on the western bank of the Jumna, and Tabar on the opposite bank, 16 miles West of Saharanpur).

19th.—The Sikhs lost 25 soldiers, and many were wounded.[2]

22nd.—Mirza Shafi marched towards Buriya [3] (4 miles West of the Jumna).

27th.—Mirza Shafi held consultations with Chain Singh, vakil of Rajah Amar Singh of Patiala.[4]

28th.—The Mirza encamped near Kharvan [5] (3 miles North of Buriya).

29th.—The Mirza fixed his camp at Balchapur on the bank of the Chittang stream [6] (7 miles North-West of Jagadhari).

April, 1780—

2nd.—Mir Mansur established his posts at Mustafabad (12 miles West of Buriya) and Sadhaura [7] (on Nakti stream, 6 miles South of the hills and 23 miles East of Ambala).

3rd.—Sixty cart loads, and 60 horse loads of grain, and two cartloads of gunpowder arrived from Sadhaura, but the Banjaras carrying grain were plundered by Mor Singh.[8]

4th.—The Mirza marched from Balchapur, and encamped one mile distant from Mustafabad.[9]

6th.—The Sikhs sent their families to the hills.[10]

7th.—Ghulam Qadir Khan had an interview with the Mirza, and received a robe of honour.[11]

8th.—2,000 Sikhs are encamped at Balchapur, 200 troopers of Gurdat Singh drove away cattle from Garhi Bhai Khan on the other side of the Jumna.[12]

9th.—The Mirza fixed his quarters at Sikandara but two battalions of Gangaram being displeased (آزردہ شدہ) stayed behind at Mustafabad.[13]

10th.—A battle between Ismail Beg and the Sikhs took place at Sadhaura.[14]

11th.—The Sikhs fought with the ʻāmil of Buriya, and one Jamadar of Infantry lost his life.[15]

12th.—200 Sikhs crossed the Jumna, and plundered a village near Meerut, killing and wounding several persons.[16]

14th.—The police post of Baghel Singh was expelled from Hosainpur.[17]

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[1] *Ibid*, 63*b*—64*a*.
[2] *Ibid*, 65*b*.
[3] *Ibid*, 67*a*.
[4] *Ibid*, 69*b*.
[5] *Ibid*, 71*b*-72*a*.
[6] *Ibid*, 73*b*.
[7] *Ibid*, 80*b*.
[8] *Ibid*, 86*a*.
[9] *Ibid*, 91*b*.
[10] *Ibid*, 93*b*.
[11] *Ibid*, 96*b*.
[12] *Ibid*, 99*b*.
[13] *Ibid*, 105*b*.
[14] *Ibid*, 108*b*.
[15] *Ibid*, 109*b*.
[16] *Ibid*, 113*a*.
[17] *Ibid*, 117*b*.

16th.—A fierce fight took place near Indari (15 miles north of Karnal and 6 miles west of the Jumna) in which the Sikhs lost 150 men including their commander, Ratan Singh ; while a large number of them were wounded. The imperialists lost 30 men, and nearly 50 were wounded. By way of appreciation a rich robe of honour was sent to Shafi from Delhi.[1]

The Emperor consulted Opat astronomer regarding Mirza Shafi who said that the Sikhs would fight with the Mirza on the 16th, 22nd, 24th April and 4th May and that the imperial troops would be victorious.[2]

18th.—The Sikhs were carrying regular raids across the Jumna. They should be checked by other forces from Delhi.[3]

20th.—The Sikhs plundered Gangoh (7 miles east of the Jumna in Saharanpur district) and then arrived near Shamli[4] (a town in Muzaffarnagar district). The Chaudhari of Shamli bought off the Sikhs by offering money for Karah. The Sikhs then plundered Hasanpur and other 12 villages of the Afghans.[5]

21st.—The Mirza reports that his captains and soldiers are disheartened for want of reinforcements, and they are deserting the camp.[6]

22nd.—The Sikhs plundered Baghpat (20 miles north of Delhi on the Jumna in Meerut district) and the neighbouring villages.[7]

23rd.—Requested immediate assistance to punish the Sikh raiders across the Jumna.[8] The Sikhs plundered Sheikhpura and spread devastation in the neighbourhood of Shahdara[9] (suburbs of Delhi). They realized a tribute of Rs. 4,000 from the 'āmil of Burhana.

24th.—Mirza Shafi raised his camp on the Chittang, and encamped near Mustafabad.[10]

26th.—Mirza Shafi sought for assistance.[11] The Sikhs laid waste Pargnapura and established their post there. They got a blackmail of Rs. 400 and a horse from village Holi.[11]

27th.—Mirza Shafi was at Kabutar Khera. He had made preparations to march to Buriya, but postponed it for the time being. He sent Sherdin Khan and Mir Mansur to establish imperial posts in the neighbourhood of Sadhaura.[12]

28th.—Khalil Muhammad Khan, Jamadar of 400 horse deserted Murtaza Khan (engaged in the Jaipur campaign) and sought service with him.[13]

30th.—Khalil Muhammad Khan Jamadar seized Shahabad (16 miles south of Ambala) by expelling the Sikhs.[14]

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[1] *Ibid*, 121*a*-122*a*.
[2] *Ibid*, 123*a*.
[3] *Ibid*, 125*b*.
[4] *Ibid*, 129*b*.
[5] *Ibid*, 133*a*-*b*.
[6] *Ibid*, 137*a*.
[7] *Ibid*, 140*b*.
[8] *Ibid*, 140*b*.
[9] *Ibid*, 142*b*-143*a*.
[10] *Ibid*, 146*a*.
[11] *Ibid*, 155*a*.
[12] *Ibid*, 148*a*.
[13] *Ibid*, 161*a*-163*a*.
[14] *Ibid*, 165*a*.

سر دران بیدل شدہ اند کہ خانان ما یان سکھان ویران مے نمایند
و خفا شدہ بر خاستہ میروند

در عرضی مرزا شفیع خاں مندرج بود کہ ندوی در آنجا تدبیر
سکھان قرار واقعی نمودہ است آن خداوند جلد فوج روانہ فرمائید

May, 1780—

3rd.—Shafi bestowed a doshala on Jaimal Banjara for bringing grain to the camp. Khalil Muhammad Khan reported from Shahabad that 200 Sikhs attacked the town and wounded some persons.[1]

4th.—500 Sikhs plundered the country across the Jumna, and 300 Sikhs were bringing this booty home, when Mir Mansur came to oppose them. In the engagement the Mir and his horse were wounded, Mir Baqar, Mir Kalan and Inayat Ali were slain, and about twenty troopers were killed and wounded.[2]

5th.—Shafi marched from Kabutar Khera and pitched his camp near Sadhaura.[3]

6th.—Sherdin Khan and Bagha Rao brought treasure into the camp. Shafi transferred his camp from Sadhaura to Bilaspur.[4] (8 miles south-east of Sadhaura).

8th.—Shafi received Rs. 25,000 from Gajpat Singh of Jind as the revenues of Kunjpura, which he distributed among his soldiers. He settled a tribute[5] of Rs. 17,000 on the Raja of Nahan and Rs. 7,000 on the zamindars of village Indari.[6]

9th.—Shafi encamped at Balchapur. The Sikhs were creating a havoc in the Gangetic Doab.[7]

10th.—The battalion of Sheikh Haidar was disheartened, and the Mirza encouraged them to stay.[8]

11th.—Shafi fixed his camp at Damla [9] (10 miles south of Buriya, and 10 miles west of the Jumna).

12th.—Shafi moved from Damla and encamped near Zadurpur (?). The Sikhs attacked him in the camp.[10]

13th.—Shafi reached the bank of the Jumna on the ghat of Nakum-Tabar.[11]

14th.—Shafi was at Nakum-Tabar. He received letters from the imperial officers of Sadhaura and Shahabad saying that the zamindars were rebelling and the Sikhs fought them daily.[12]

15th.—Shafi was stationed at the same place.[13]

16th.—The 'āmil of Shahabad informed him that he was defeated by the Sikhs and they expelled him from the town. If the reinforcements did not come immediately, he would be sacrificed.[14]

17th.—Shafi marched from Nakum-Tabar to Buriya in pursuit of the Sikhs [15] and in the gardens outside enjoyed a performance of the dancing girls who accompanied his camp. The 'āmil of Shahabad again wrote to him for assistance.[16]

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[1] *Ibid*, 168*b*.
[2] *Ibid*, 171*b*.
[3] *Ibid*, 177*a*-178*b*.
[4] *Ibid*, 182*b*.
[5] *Ibid*, 187*b*.
[6] *Ibid*, 193*b*.
[7] *Ibid*, 199*b*.
[8] *Ibid*, 204*b*. چلتن شیخ حیدر آرزده شده بود دلجمعي آنها نمودند
[9] *Ibid*, 206*a*.
[10] *Ibid*, 210*b*.
[11] *Ibid*, 215*a*.
[12] *Ibid*, 220*a*. زمینداران این طرف جا بجا سر کشی اند و هر روز از ما یان و
[13] *Ibid*, 224*b*. سکهان جنگ می شود
[14] *Ibid*, 229*a*.
[15] *Ibid*, 230*b*.
[16] *Ibid*, 233*a*. سکهان قدري را بسیار تنگ نموده اند جلد کومک روانه فرمایند

18th.—Shafi received a written agreement from Gajpat Singh to this effect that he would pay the Mirza one lakh of rupees at the time of his reaching Kunjpura and fifty thousand rupees in Karnal. He would hand over his son by way of security for two lakhs of rupees, and he himself would remain in attendance upon him.[1]

19th.—Shafi came back to Nakum-Tabar. Bhag Singh and Rai Singh, the chiefs of the Sikhs crossed over the Jumna at Saharanpur ghat. The dancing girls complained to him that they were suffering from want of money.[2]

20th.—Gajpat Singh's son reached Karnal.[3]

21st.—Shafi marched back from Buriya towards Nathanpur (5 miles north of Buriya), but the Sikhs attacked him on the way. About fifteen men on both sides were wounded, while one Sikh was killed.[5]

22nd.—The 'āmil of Shahabad informed the Mirza that the Sikhs again besieged him and shot at him from the tops of the neighbouring houses, while he had taken shelter under the walls of the Sarai. The Mirza ordered Sherdin Khan and Bagha Rao to go to his rescue, but they refused on the ground that their troops were clamouring for their arrears of pay and that they had been going without food for the past three days.[6]

25th.—The Mirza was still at Nakum-Tabar, and the Sikhs fought with the 'āmil of Shahabad as before.[7]

26th.—The Mirza received two Hundis of fifty thousand and ten thousand rupees from Gajpat Singh, and Shafi distributed Rs. 10,000 among his troops.[8]

27th.—Shafi asked every one of his officers to march to the rescue of Khali Muhammad Khan, the 'āmil of Shahabad, but none agreed.[8].

28th.—Karam Singh and Bhagel Singh were fighting against Khalil Muhammad Khan. Sher Singh of Buriya was engaged in a fight with the 'āmil of Sadhaura while Rai Singh and Bhag Singh lay encamped near Thanesar. The Sikhs from Ropar side were at Sirhind.[9]

June, 1780.

1st.—Khalil Muhammad sought for peace and offered one horse as a nazar, and came out of his place of hiding at the head of 300 horse and 800 foot. The Sikhs fell upon them and killed the āmil.[10]

2nd.—The Sikhs established their administration at Shahabad.[11]

4th.—Shafi's position was deteriorating as nobody obeyed him, and he had no money to give. Gajpat Singh arrived in the camp of Mirza Shafi.[12]

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[1] *Ibid*, 236*b*-237*a*.
[2] *Ibid*, 241*b*.
[3] *Ibid*, 247*a*.
[4] *Ibid*, 250*a-b*.
[5] *Ibid*, 254*b*.
[6] *Ibid*, 257*b*.
[7] *Ibid*, 264*b*.
[8] *Ibid*, 265*b*. مرزا مزکور بہ جمیع مغلیہ گفتہ کسے رفتن خود قبول نکردہ
[9] *Ibid*, 273*b*-274*a*.
[10] *Ibid*, 284*a*.
[11] *Ibid*, 281*a-b*.
[12] *Ibid*, 282*b*.

7th.—Mirza Shafi dispatched four platoons under Sayyid Ali, Ganga Ram Kumedan, Ghulam Muhammad and Sherdin Khan Mandal to help the ʿāmil of Sadhaura.[1]

8th.—The troops were mutinying for their unpaid salary and were pressing the Mirza to let them go to Delhi along with Gajpat Singh.[2]

9th.—The platoons sent to assist the ʿāmil of Sadhaura marched from Damla and Balchapur, and reached Sadhaura while fighting on the way with the Sikhs continuously for eight miles. The military posts at Mustafabad and Bilaspur were also raised. The imperialists lost seven men, and 150 were wounded ; whilst the Sikhs lost two men.[3]

10th.—The imperial troops were compelled to vacate the post at Sadhaura. Then they marched back, and through constant fighting with the Sikhs all the way reached Shafi's camp one hour after nightfall. The Sikhs lost about 80 men and the imperialists nearly 40.[4]

11th.—2,000 Sikhs marched towards Buriya in order to invest it, but when guns were fired upon them from the walls of the fort, they retired.[5]

12th.—2,000 Sikhs have gone to Kunjpura, while 500 Sikhs have laid siege to Damla.[6]

13th.—Rai Singh, Bhag Singh and Bhagel Singh at the head of 3,000 soldiers have reached Damla ; other Sikh chiefs are lying encamped at a distance of 6 or 7 miles. 500 Sikhs suddenly appeared before Shafi's camp at Nakum-Tabar.[7]

14th.—Skirmishes were going on between Shafi and the Sikhs.[8]

19th.—Surjan Khan Mandal marched towards Damla, but the Sikhs checked his progress. Mirza Zain-ul-Abidin, the commander's brother, was also ready to desert Shafi, but he was ultimately prevailed upon to stay. The Sikhs intended to raid the upper Doab and Shafi also showed inclination to march in their pursuit if so ordered, as he liked to spend the rainy season on the other side of the Jumna, (apparently for safety) stating that he would renew the campaign early in winter.[9]

22nd.—Shafi deputed his agent Jai Singh Rai to Diwan Singh, Bhagel Singh and Gurdat Singh offering lenient terms for peace, but they did not agree.[10]

26th.—Dalil Khan advised Shafi to canton for the rainy season at Buriya.[11]

28th.—Two Sikh horsemen have crossed the Jumna, and 500 Sikhs are wandering in the neighbourhood of Sikandara. The Sikhs daily move about Buriya.[12]

29th.—Shafi was still at Ghat Nakum-Tabar. The Sikhs offered him terms for peace which the Mirza did not accept.[13]

July, 1780.

2nd.—The Mirza was ordered by the Delhi Court to canton at Radaur for the rainy season;[14] (but Mirza Shafi stuck fast to his post at the Ghat of Nakum-Tabar on the Jumna and ultimately fell back on his base at Kunjpura).

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[1] *Ibid*, 292*b*.
[2] *Ibid*, 298*b*.
[3] *Ibid*, 303*a*, 304*b*.
[4] *Ibid*, 303*b*, 308*a-b*.
[5] *Ibid*, 307*b*.
[6] *Ibid*, 311*b*.
[7] *Ibid*, 315*a-b*.
[8] *Ibid*, 319*b*.
[9] *Ibid*, 328*a-b*.
[10] *Ibid*, 335*b*-336*a*.
[11] *Ibid*, 340*a*.
[12] *Ibid*, 343*b*.
[13] *Ibid*, 345*b*.
[14] *Ibid*, 344*a*.

مقدمہ مرزا شفیع خاں ابتر شد چرا کہ فوج مغلیہ گفتہ
خاں مذکور نجا طر نمی آرد و تکیف خرچ نہایت است

بتاریخ بستم جی سنگہ رائی از نزد سکہان مذکور آمدہ
عرض کرد سکہان فرمودہ آنصاحب قبول نمی کنند

HISTORY OF SURAT TILL IT CAME UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

[By Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).]

In the history of British beginnings in India between 1757 and 1761 very much attention is paid to the eastern regions of India and comparatively little to the western regions. There seems to be no end of the stirring events in Bengal and the Karnatic, while on the west coast everything seems to be quiet and dull. In the lime-light of Plassey and Wandiwash all else appear pale. Yet the British beginnings on the west coast reveal a story of unfailing vigilance and increasing ascendancy in spite of the Marathas then in their highest power and glory. Their achievements at Gheria, their complete political control of the government of Surat, and their negotiations for the acquisition of Salsette—these episodes may not be very gripping in their details, but their importance in the ultimate triumph of the British over the Marathas can never be underrated. Here we will take up only the narrative of Surat till it passed under the control of the British.

In commercial importance Surat in the days of the Mughal Empire was second to no other port on the west coast. It was reputed for its enormous foreign and inland trade. "During the busy winter months lodgings could hardly be obtained owing to the influx of the people. Caravans passed between Surat and Golconda, Agra, Delhi and Lahore. Ships arrived from the Konkan and Malabar Coast; while from the outer world, besides the flourishing European trade merchants came from Arabia, the Persian Gulf, Ceylon and Acheen in Sumatra". It was also for the Mughal Empire the blessed port (Bandar Mubārak) of embarkation for Mecca. And it was because of these circumstances that the British East India Company founded a factory there in spite of the opposition of Portuguese in 1612. Shortly after they obtained a farman from the Mughal Emperor and made it the seat of a Presidency. For more than fifty years they drove a vigorous trade; but owing to the political troubles attending the latter half of Aurangzeb's reign the trade declined, and in 1687 it was reduced to an agency, as the Presidency was shifted to Bombay.

After the death of Aurangzeb anarchy prevailed in most parts of the Empire, and following the example of many of his compeers the Governor of Surat proclaimed himself independent. Then followed a period of trouble and disorder that continued for the next twenty-six years and resulted in a rapid decline of the trade and general prosperity of the City. This state of affairs was put an end to only after the British took over the control of the City in 1759, the circumstances of which are narrated below.

Under the Mughal government the command of the Surat Castle was kept distinct from the administration of the City. The commandant and the garrison of the Castle received from the Mughal Emperor jagirs and assignments on the revenue of the district for their maintenance. But these became "less productive from 1720 when Sheya Khan the Nazim or Viceroy of Gujerat and his brother Roostum Khan then the Hakem or the Mutsudee (*i.e.*, Civil Officer) of Surat related to have been slain in battle by Ahmed Khan supported by Pillajee the father of Damajee, an ancestor of the present Guycwar princes who used thereafter to collect annually, on his own account, part of the revenue of the province, over the whole of which the government of this branch of the Marathas is said to have become fully established on or before the year 1734, the town of Surat and Cambay and their dependencies and some others on the coast excepted."

For the maritime protection of the western coast of their empire the Mughal Emperors maintained a fleet under command of the Sidee of Rajapur. He was paid originally out of Surat revenues, which having rapidly dwindled the Governor of the town (Hakim) about the year 1735, assigned him part of the revenue of the district Bulesser together with part of the town income from the Customs, mintage, tolls on the cotton yarn, etc. In 1746 Nawab Teigh Beg Khan the Governor died and was succeeded by Nawab Sufder Khan, whose son Vukr (Bakr) Khan became the Commandant of the Castle. But in 1748 a relative of the late Nawab Teigh Beg Khan, by name Mainuddin Khan took possession of the Castle with the sanction of the Mughal authority, and subsequently with the help of the Sidee and the English expelled Sufder Khan from the Governorship of Surat. In 1751, however, Bakr Khan won back the Governorship of the town after an attack on Mainuddin Khan, who now was forced to seek refuge in the Castle " which fell in consequence of these dissensions into the custody of Sidee Mussaood ", of Rajapur or Janjira. To gain greater success Bakr Khan now applied for assistance to Damajee and promised to cede half the revenues of Surat after his father Sufder Khan was reinstated in the Governorship of Surat. In this the Sidee was also helpful. Consequently after the father and son took possession of the government of Surat they agreed to assign to Damajee a third part of the Surat revenue and to the Sidee a third part of the tolls on grain and of the income from the Court of Justice. " In 1752-53 Damajee agreed among other concessions to cede to his superior the Paishwa, one moiety of his Chout, or rather third share of the Surat Revenue." Thus the Peshwa came to have an interest in the affairs of Surat.

Now the Sidee who retained his hold on the Castle, and Sufder Khan the Governor, did not pull on well ; and in January 1757 a negotiation was set on foot between the latter and Mr. Brabazon Ellis, the chief of the Factory of Surat, for expelling Sidee from the Castle, which was to be given up to the Nawab and the fleet to be resigned to the Company, for the support of which they were to receive one lac of rupees a year from the Nawab. The Nawab was also to compel the Dutch who were a rival of the English " to withdraw their factories from Rajapore, Cutch and all other places equally adjacent to Surat." But this negotiation fell through owing to a difference arising between the Nawab and his partisan Ali Nawaz Khan. The latter was secretly inclined to court the help of the Sidee and the Dutch to overthrow the Nawab, while there was one Pharas Khan, who having the support of the Marathas aimed at Nawabship for himself. It was owing to the support of the Marathas that the Bombay Government resolved in December 1757 to open a correspondence with Pharas Khan. But in January 1758 Sufder Khan suddenly died and was quietly succeeded by Ali Nawaz Khan. Two years before (1756) Sidee Ahmed Khan had succeeded his father Sidee Mussaood in the command of the Castle.

Now the people of Surat became so dissatisfied with Ali Nawaz Khan that they requested Mr. Ellis to induce the Company to take possession of the Castle, the government and the fleet, from which the Bombay authorities were deterred on account of their " dread of the resentment of the Maratha Government who had views at this time of taking Surat to themselves ". In the meanwhile Mainuddin Khan taking advantage of this state of affairs and with the help of Sidee Ahmed expelled Ali Nawaz Khan in December 1758 and seized the Nawabship for himself. The role of " King-maker " that the Sidee was successfully playing, together with his command of the Castle emboldened him to go a step further, and he began to molest the English in various ways. This " led in the beginning of the year 1759 to a renewal of the intention to obtain for the Company the Castle and the Fleet and to fix Pharas Khan in the Civil government of the City.....or at least, if that was found impracticable, to make him Naib to Atchen (Mainuddin Khan)

.....". In this they were resolved "to anticipate the designs either of the Marathas or of any European nation". Indeed the Maratha fleet under the command of Naroo Pant and Damajee who was Gaicwar's agent were already at Surat watching the developments, when on 15th February the Company's fleet arrived with a land force of 801 European Infantry, 1,500 Sepoys and a detachment of Royal Artillery. Bombay authorities had already written letters to Naroo Pant and Damajee assuring them "that there was no intention to trench or innovate on their masters' just rights and interests at Surat" so that they might not take part against the Company's forces. In spite of that "on the 19th of February 1759, a serpaw, horse, sword, etc. arrived from Nana (Peshwa) to Atchen (Mainuddin Khan)," who thus encouraged, refused to give up the Nawabship while the party in favour of Pharas Khan in the City did not show any enthusiasm for his cause. It was owing to this indifference of Pharas Khan's party and a consideration of the possible Maratha support for Mainuddin Khan that on the 4th of March 1759 a treaty was concluded between the English and Mainuddin Khan by which Pharas Khan was to be installed as the latter's Naib and the Sidee was to give up the Castle and the fleet to the English. Nawab Mainuddin further agreed to fulfil all the stipulations into which Pharas Khan had entered with the English. Subsequently in approval of these transactions Mr. Spencer who represented the Company received two Imperial farmans, one from Nizam-ul-mulk under the date of 24th June 1759 desiring him "to look to the peace of the inhabitants and the preservation of His Majesty's Castle.....and of the trade in these seas"; and another from the Mughal Emperor under the date of 4th September 1759 granting the "Kelladaree or the Government of the Castle of Surat" together with an order from the Khan-i-Saman under the date of 25th August 1759 "committing the charge of the King's fleet to the Company" and another order from the Vizier under the date of 18th September 1759 commanding Mainuddin Khan the Governor of Surat to pay two lacs of rupees per annum to the Company for the maintenance of the fleet.

Thus finally the British succeeded in taking over the control of the Castle, the maintenance of the fleet and protection of the Nawab and his government from the Sidee. The Marathas throughout the affair were not earnest in their effort to acquire control of the City and government of Surat which passed into the hands of the British Company now. Just as the Maratha operations at Gheria in active co-operation with the English was a mistake, similarly the indifference that the Marathas showed in countenancing the British to acquire control of the Castle and Civil government at Surat was highly impolitic. The nature and extent of the gain to the British thereby was considerable and has been thus described in a contemporary document. "Surat has ever been considered as the Emporium of this side of India, a chief source of procuring an extensive investment of piece-goods for the Europe market, a city admirably well situated for a general mart to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf by land and water, connecting the produce and wants of Hindstan, Deccan, Malabar, Arabia, Persia, Europe and China. It is besides the only check to the absolute dominion of the Marathas in these parts a certain recourse of draught cattle and provisions in case of War and an open communication by land to convey intelligence to any part of India.....".

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   (*a*) Home Series Miscellaneous, Vol. 4560, pp. 223-261.
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2. *Imperial Gazetteer*—
   Vol. XXIII, pp. 155 ff.

SCARCITY IN BIHAR (1783 AND 1792).

(By Mr. Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.)

The harvest of 1782 was extremely poor owing to the failure of the *Hathiyā* rain. Next year also the autumnal rains failed—there was no rain since the third week of August. The price of rice rose to 20 seers the rupee, and a serious scarcity was apprehended. The prospect of realizing revenue looked exceedingly gloomy. William Augustus Brooke, the Revenue Chief of Bihar, was managing affairs with great difficulty. He recommended a general settlement. John Shore, the Acting President of the Committee of Revenue, was deputed to Bihar to enquire into the scarcity, make a new settlement and effect as far as possible the recovery of the balances. He came to Bihar in October 1783.

It was popularly suspected that the merchants were hoarding grain to inflate its price artificially and thereby to make an unholy profit. Sir J. F. W. James observes : " This idea always prevails in times of scarcity ; it was common in 1770, and though experience has shown it to be practically always ill-founded, it invariably re-appears, whenever high prices rule ".[1]

Brooke wrote to the Committee of Revenue on September 24, 1783 : " Should the grain continue to grow scarce at the rate it has rose in price for some days past, the distress of the poor natives will be great indeed ; and we can expect no supplies from the westward, as the want of rain in that quarter has if possible been more severely felt than in this province. I am confident that there must be grain sufficient to answer the consumption of more than one year, but the people in whose possession it is, take advantage of the necessities of the poor ; but were proper measure adopted this evil might be remedied ".[2]

As a matter of fact famine was apprehended in the Vizier's province. A. Clevland, Collector of Bhagalpur, was asked by the Committee of Revenue to take off duties on the transportation of all kinds of grain for the two months of October and November.[3] He was further warned that they had received information from many districts of the failure of crops and impending famine, and prescribed the precaution of furnishing price list four times monthly and an account of the several depositions (*sic.*) of grain and seeing that the people did not take advantage of the time by increasing the price of grain.[4]

He was further forwarded an extract from the minutes of the Council of the 14th October, 1783 containing resolutions to the effect that the Residents of Lucknow and Benares were to give facilities to all persons intending to settle in Bihar and Bengal to save themselves from famine, and the Board of Revenue was directed to provide residence for these persons and that all duties on every kind of grain were to be suspended.[5]

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[1] James—*Selections from the Correspondence of the Revenue Chief of Bihar*, p. 36.

[2] Shahabad Records.

[3] Letter No. 119, dated 30th September, 1783 from S. Charters and C. Croftes to A. Clevland, Collector, Boglipur (Bhagalpur Collector's Records).

[4] Letter No. 123, dated 13th October, 1783 from same to same—Bhagalpur Records.

[5] Letter No. 124, dated 16th October, 1783 from William Bruere, Assistant Secretary, Council Chamber to A. Clevland (Bhagalpur Records).

G. F. Grand, Collector of Tirhoot, got the following letter from the Committee of Revenue at Fort William in Bengal dated 13th October, 1783: "The general information we have received from districts of the crops having been considerably hurt from a want of rain and the consequent rise in the price of every article of produce renders it necessary that immediate and effective precautions should be taken to prevent the ill effects arising either from a real or whatever will be equally distressing to the inhabitants and artificial scarcity creating (*sic.*) by merchants from hoarding grain, greatly enhancing the price of it and withholding the usual supplies from the public markets.

We direct that you do in the most public manner issue orders by beat of drum in all the bazars and gunges in the districts under your charge declaring that if any merchant shall conceal his grain, refuse to bring it to market and sell it at a reasonable price, he will not only be punished himself in the most exemplary manner but his grain will be seized and distributed among the poor."[6]

He received another letter from the same on the 17th October, 1783:

"The Hon'ble Board having taken into consideration the famine much apprehended in the Northern provinces and which has already ravaged with the utmost severity to the westward have come to some Resolutions which are now communicated to you for your information and guidance.....

You will exert your utmost endeavours to make it effectual and issue proclamation ordered by the Hon'ble Board in the most public manner and if after that complaints be made to you about any person under any description whatever stopping grain for duties or actually collecting them you will seize such person and send him a prisoner to Calcutta together with the proofs of his guilt and by your enquiry into the complaint as we are firmly resolved that no offenders in this respect shall escape an exemplary punishment."[7]

James says; "The proclamation was not so far as I am aware carried into effect in a single instance."

The Collectors of Tirhoot and Saran endeavoured to protect their own district by prohibiting exportation of grain. They were forbidden by Shore to do so. Grand received a communication dated the 18th October, 1783:

"The distress which prevails in the city of Patna and Dinapore from the scarcity of grain rendering it absolutely necessary that some immediate measures should be adopted for removing it as far as possible, I think it necessary that you issue positive orders for removing every embargo on the exportation of grain from the districts under your charge and allow the Beparies and merchants to purchase it freely and so export it without molestation to all parts of Behar notwithstanding any orders you may have received to the contrary from the Committee of Revenue.

As many persons possessed of large quantities of grain may be induced to withhold the sale of it on the prospect of disposing of it hereafter at an advanced price, I recommend to your particular attention to prevent this and all monopolies and that you do for this purpose make the most particular enquiries after grains and in case the holders should refuse to bring it to market that you seize it and dispose of it at the prevailing rate."[8]

The Board of Revenue disapproved of his having interrupted the free exportation of grain from his district (letter of 27th October, 1783).

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[6] and [7] Record Room of the Collector of Muzaffarpore.

[8] *Ibid.*

Similarly the Collector of Purnea fearing that exportation of grain from his district was liable to cause a greater distress therein prohibited it but was soon warned to withdraw his orders of prohibition. He, however, complained subsequently to the Committee of Revenue (November 6, 1783) that by allowing an unlimited exportation of grain his district would be exposed to danger.[9]

On the 23rd of October, 1783 the Committee of Revenue issued a circular letter to Collectors [10] acquainting them that the Governor-General in Council had resolved that a Committee consisting of four servants of the Company, *viz.*, Messrs. Thomas Graham, George Cumming, Thomas Law and George Temple was to be appointed in Calcutta to assemble during the period of scarcity for the purpose of superintending and regulating the sale, price and distribution of grain throughout the Company's provinces and to examine into the complaints of infringement of orders. This was called the Committee of Grain.

The following advertisement was issued :

" The Honorable the Governor General and Council having by the exemption of the duties on grain as notified in their orders published the 16th instant removed every cause of interruption to the free sale and transportation of grain throughout and beyond the provinces, the proprietors of grain being therefore left without any substantial pretence for withdrawing its sale and circulation. Notice is hereby given to all merchants, Europeans as well as natives, Beparies, ryots, Goldars and ammuldars, zemindars, renters and others that whoever shall be found to hoard up and to evade bringing to market the grain they may have in store over and above what may be esteemed necessary for the subsistence of their Havelies or to attempt selling it at an exhorbitant price shall upon information and sufficient evidence thereof be subject to have the whole confiscated and to such other penalties as Government may think proper to inflict."

On the same day the latter wrote to Collectors referring them to the circular letters issued by the Committee of Revenue on the 13th and 17th October directing them to transmit weekly abstracts of the daily prices of grain and all other relevant information in order to enable them to take precautions for preserving people's lives.

Grand received the following letter from the Committee of Revenue dated 13th November, 1783 :

" Under the present apprehension of a scarcity of grain in many of the districts of Bengal and Behar it becomes necessary to obviate the consequences of such a calamity not only by an immediate interposition of Government to prevent monopolies and the enhancement of the price of grain beyond the necessity arising from a real scarcity but also to obtain through the agency of the servants of the Company the most accurate state of the resources of the country in the event of the calamity becoming more extensive either within the company's provinces, in those of the Nabob Vizier, or Benares.

As a more effectual mode of acquiring this information we direct that you do immediately make a progress into the districts under your charge and by a careful and accurate enquiry ascertain the quantity of grain now in deposit and by local observation form the best possible judgement of the state of the crops now on the

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[9] Hunter's *Bengal Records*, No. 565.

[10] Letter dated 23rd October, 1783 to G. F. Grand, Collector of Tirhut from Committee of Revenue (Collector, Muzaffarpur) ; also letter No. 27, dated 23rd October, 1783 from Committee of Revenue to A. Clevland (Bhagalpur Records).

ground and of the comparative produce of the present with that of the former years."[11]

As a safeguard against scarcity it was proposed to establish granaries in districts. In a letter No. 130, dated 27th October, 1783 the Assistant Secretary, Council Chamber, Calcutta authorised Clevland "to establish granaries according to his proposal." In another letter (No. 136, dated 10th November, 1783) the Committee of Grain requested him "to provide grain for the granaries established under orders of the Governor-General in Council." On Shore's recommendation the erection of a granary at Bankipur was sanctioned in January, 1784 and "it was promptly built, but it has never been filled in anticipation of scarcity." It was built under the supervision of Captain (afterwards General) John Garstin.[12]

On the requisition of the Collector of Bhagalpur, the Collector of Purnea issued orders for buying on the public account 20,000 maunds of rice, which was not authorized by the Committee of Revenue as they had received no orders for appropriating any part of the revenue to the purchase of grain, but the Collector produced the requisite authority from the Committee of Grain.[13]

The ryots of Purnea complained that notwithstanding severe drought in the district, the farmer insisted on demanding revenue from them. The extent of the distress of the district can be gauged from the petition of the farmer of Purnea who reported that owing to the drought it would be necessary to advance *takkavi* of Rs. 60,000 to the ryots.[14]

The Committee of Grain in January 1784 asked the collectors to report promptly the result of their enquiries (since the season of reaping the harvest had nearly expired) as to the quantity of grain produced that year in the districts under their charge as well as of the quantity in store of the produce of former years.[15]

Apparently the situation had improved meanwhile. In June 1784 the Committee of Grain rescinded the resolution suspending duties on grain and ordered the levying of duties thereon.[16] But the merchants were still hoarding grain and selling it at an exorbitant price. Hence the Committee had to prohibit the practice.[17]

The harvest of 1784 had so far improved that it was no longer thought necessary to continue the Committee of Grain *in toto*. It was partially abolished, only the President being retained. He was given an assistant and a writer.[18]

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[11] Muz. Records.

[12] It is said to stand as a monument of stupendous folly known as "Garstin's folly". But he was not wholly to blame. See *B. P. & P.*, Vol. LII, p. 48: "Posterity has saddled Garstin with the responsibility for the ludicrous design of this storehouse; but it would appear that some of the blame at least must attach to Lt.-Col. Henry Watson, the Chief Engineer in Bengal, who officially approved the plans, if, indeed, they did not originate with him. In Bengal Original Consultations of December 15, 1783, there is a letter to the Board from Watson, "enclosing with remarks a plan and section for the erection of permanent granaries in different parts of the provinces, and recommending Capt. John Garstin to be entrusted with the construction of the granary to be erected at Patna."

[13] Hunter's *Bengal* Records, letters Nos. 590, 591 and 592 dated 1st, 1st and 18th December, 1783 respectively.

[14] *Ibid*, Nos. 602, 649 and 894, dated 8th January and 1st April 1784, and 28th March, 1785 respectively.

[15] Letter to G. F. Grand, dated 22nd January, 1784 (Muzaffarpur Records).

[16] Letter No. 40, dated 24th June, 1784 from the Committee of Grain to Charles Chapman, Collector, Boglipur (Bhagalpur Records).

[17] Letter No. 66, dated 4th October, 1784 from the Committee of Grain to Mr. Chapman, Collector Boglipur (Bhagalpur Records).

[18] Letter No. 89, dated 31st January, 1785 from the Committee of Grain (T. Graham and H. Ramus) to Mr. Chapman (Bhagalpur Records).

A copy of Resolution passed by the Hon'ble the Governor General and Council in their Secret Department of Inspection on January 27, 1785 is quoted below :

"The objects proposed on the establishment of the Committee of grain have now been answered and the necessity that dictated the establishment in its present extent no longer exists.

The Board have satisfaction in knowing from the Governor-General, who acquainted them upon undoubted authority, that the Natives in general acknowledge with gratitude the obligation they owe to this Government for their timely and effectual interposition to save them from the dreadful effects of a famine, and that the establishment of this Committee has contributed to rescue many thousands probably from misery and destruction. The Board cannot but feel the most sensible pleasure in contemplating the beneficial effects of this institution ; and as the same necessity which required its formation may again exist, as an office of this kind can only act with advantage and efficacy from experience ; and as that experience can only result from a constant and permanent operation, it is resolved that a partial abolition only be made of this office. The Board being convinced that the Company must approve the continuance of an establishment that has for its object the preservation of the lives of its subjects : *Agreed*, therefore that the establishment of the Committee only be abolished, but that the President of it do still remain invested with the same powers and control that the Committee now exercise and under such further regulations as the Board may hereafter deem necessary."[19]

It has already been observed that as a measure of combating famine in the future Government thought it desirable to erect public granaries on a permanent basis throughout the provinces. The Committee of Revenue issued a letter on 25th November, 1784 to Collectors respecting the practicability of inducing the Zamindars of the districts under their charge to enter into voluntary contributions towards raising a fund for defraying the expense of erecting public granaries throughout the provinces. Apparently the Collectors did not pay any serious attention to this proposition, as the Committee in a letter dated 22nd September, 1785 urged Robert Bathurst to lose no time in transmitting his reply.[20]

In the autumn of 1786 the people of the Tirhoot district were in great distress owing to the break out of a severe cattle disease. G. F. Grard asked the Board of Revenue to advance Rs. 30,000 for the relief of the inhabitants overtaken by "the calamity which has fallen on their cattle." The Board thought that the amount far exceeded their expectations, but authorised the advance, provided measures were taken to afford real assistance in the cultivation of the soil, and asked him at what future time the entire money would again be recovered to Government, for which they relied on his efforts as soon as the condition of the country would admit.[21]

The Collectors had regularly to send the statement of price current of grain.[22] The Board of Revenue in their letter of the 15th January, 1788 to Collectors required information regarding " the present state of grain in the Collectors' districts— (1) what the Collector conceived to be in store of the produce of the past years and the current year, (2) the prospect from the crops of the present season not yet reaped or now reaping together with, (3) an account of the price it now bears compared with that in the past two years, (4) how far the quantity may be supposed

[19] Records of Shahabad and other Collector's Record Rooms.
[20] Muzaffarpur Records.
[21] Records of the Collector of Darbhanga.
[22] Hunter, *op. cit.*, letters Nos. 764, 784 and 817, dated 27th September, 11th and 25th October, 1784.

adequate to provide for the internal consumption and afford the usual exportation." The Collector of Saran replied on the 9th March as follows:

(1) There is very little or hardly any quantity of grain of the past years' produce remaining in the country; I conceive about 3 lac mds. to be in store of the produce of the current year,

(2) the prospect from the crops not yet reaped or now reaping by the measurement of the cultivated lands obtained from the Qanoongoes may be estimated to amount to 15 lac mds. and the quantity estimated for exportation during the remaining six months of year cannot be supposed to exceed one lac mds." He enclosed the following comparative statement:

A comparative statement of the price of grain in the districts of Sarcar Saran.

Kind of Grain.	The price it now bears.	The price of 1193.	That of 1194.
Raw Rice—			
1st sort	1 0 4	1 15 0	1 20 8
2nd sort	1 2 6	1 17 0	1 22 4
3rd sort	1 4 3	1 20 10	1 25 0
Usna Rice—			
1st sort	1 6 0	1 25 0	1 28 11
2nd sort	1 7 11	1 27 12	1 30 0
Santee	1 9 12	1 29 0	1 37 9
Wheat—			
1st sort	1 7 1	1 27 7	1 31 12
2nd sort	1 11 4	1 30 0	1 37 0
Urhur	1 27 13	2 5 0	2 11 5
Gram	1 4 6	1 16 8	1 20 0
Pease	1 26 10	2 4 10	2 9 8
Boot—			
1st sort	1 18 5	1 35 8	1 39 0
2nd sort	1 21 10	2 0 0	2 5 0
Mustard Seed	1 4 1	1 20 7	1 27 0
Teesy	1 7 10	1 27 0	1 32 0
Junara	1 24 10	1 37 11	2 10 0
Moong	0 13 7	0 20 0	0 27 13
Barley	1 31 10	2 10 5	2 16 7
Masoory	1 16 13	1 30 0	1 37 12
Paddy	1 28 13	3 0 0	3 15 0
Khesary	1 37 15	2 28 0	3 9 8

On the 30th January, 1788 the Collector of Purnea informed John Shore, President, and members of the Board of Revenue that it was impossible for him to form an estimate of the stock of grain in hand, but he informed them that the quantity exported that year (1788) greatly exceeded that of previous years.

In answer to his representation on the necessity of making advances to the ryots, he was authorised to advance Rs. 10,000 as *takkavi*.[23]

On the 23rd of April, 1788 he requested Mr. Marmaduke Grey, his assistant, to make a tour throughout the district for the purpose of ascertaining the quantity of grain in the granaries of merchants, the names of the proprietors and what might be spared without distress to the inhabitants.

[23] Hunter (*op. cit.*), No. 1395, dated April 30 and May 9, 1788.

On the 4th June, 1788 the Governor-General issued orders directing the Collectors to desist from all further interference in the purchase, sale or transportation of grain in their respective districts and from the pursuit of their investigations into the quantity in store. The Collector of Purnea received from E. Hay, Secretary to Government, a letter forwarding a complaint preferred by some merchants (Sang Singh, Sita Singh and Pertom Singh) that he had detained a quantity of grain bound for the Calcutta market at Carragola, for which the Governor-General was much displeased at his conduct, as order had been given to him not to discourage exportation. He explained (23rd July) that when he had received orders from Government to ascertain the quantity of grain in his district, he attached the said store of grain at Carragola. A considerable portion of it consisted of mustard seed of which at that time there was a great scarcity at Purnea. He therefore ordered 30 or 40 mds. to be brought and sold in the town. When he received orders for discontinuing the enquiry, he returned the remaining grain immediately to the owners. He took off the embargo and offered not the least obstruction to their exportation of the grain to Calcutta. Yet from a letter from the Board of Revenue dated 26th August, 1788 we find that various complaints were preferred against the Collector at the Khalsa of his having stopped boats of merchants laden with grain in different parts of the country. He was particularly enjoined to exert himself in carrying the intention of Government into full execution by preventing every infringement of the orders on the part of the Zamindars and others under his authority.

On the 20th December, 1788 he received the following communication from G. H. Barlow :

"Lord Cornwallis has desired me to acquaint you that from the account lately received from the Resident at Benares, it is probable there will be great scarcity of grain in that district owing to the failure of the late rains and he therefore wishes you will use all the means in your power to encourage the merchants to export grain to Benares. Should it appear from your reply to the reference which the Board of Revenue have been directed to make to you regarding the state of the crops that grain is likely to be cheap in your district it is probable you will receive orders to despatch considerable quantity to Benares on the account of Government. His Lordship therefore requests you will privately take measures for ascertaining the quantity of grain you may be able to purchase without distressing the inhabitants of your own districts or occasioning any considerable rise in the price of it."

On March 4, 1789 he was asked to purchase one lac mds. of rice and despatch it to Calcutta without delay.[24]

The records at Purnea dealing with the famine of 1791 were reported to be not available at the time of inspection; probably they were misl aid somewhere. The statement of prices of grain submitted by the Collector of Purnea on 17th October, 1794 for the period from 1788-89 to 1792-93 shows that the situation improved after 1792.

	1196.	1197.	1198.	1199.	1200.	
	Md. sr.	Md. sr.	Md. sr.	Md. sr.	Md. sr.	
Bhadon Paddy .	2 30	3 0	3 0	3 0	3 20	For a rupee.
Rice . .	1 20	1 20	1 25	1 15	1 20	
Fine Arwa Rice	0 30	0 32	0 35	0 30	0 33	

I am giving here a statement of the prices of grains (A) as obtained from 16th January to 1st February, 1790 in the districts of Saran and Champaran; also (B) those prevailing in the district of Saran from 1st to 31st December, 1791. It will be seen that the prices of rice in 1791 had risen four times those of the previous year and the prices of all other articles had doubled or tripled (*vide* Appendix).

[24] Purnea Records.

The severity of famine was very greatly felt in the district of Shahabad. I am here quoting an extract from the letter of the Collector of Shahabad under date the 14th January, 1792 to William Cowper, Esq., President and members of the Board of Revenue:

"My next care was to proceed to a local inspection of the several villages wherein the greatest losses were expected to arise and it is with concern I am obliged to confirm the report before made of the miserable situation to which the pergunah (Chainpore) has been reduced,—the severity of the drought has been more prevalent here than in any other part of the district and the consequences to be apprehended from it more alarming. Scarcely a drop of water has fallen within these last six months and from the heavy dews having alike failed the Harvest now on the ground by no means wears a promising productive appearance. What the labour of man could accomplish opposed to the will of Providence has been effected, but in many situations their utmost exertions have been baffled, in some water is not to be had, in others the loose sandy soil is so unfavourable for well digging that the earth is constantly falling in and in all places hands are wanted to keep in cultivation more than the lands lying contiguous to their habitations and villages."

In 1794 the Governor-General in Council resolved to establish public granaries in different parts of the country so that Government always might have in their possession a quantity of grain to answer exigencies in seasons of scarcity.[25]

In succeeding years it appears that the situation in Behar improved. In 1798 the Governor-General in Council passed a resolution under date the 24th December, 1798 immediately directing the Board of Revenue to issue orders to the Collector of Benares and the several Collectors in Behar to purchase and send up to the Fort of Allahabad such quantities of fresh grain fit for store as each of them may be desired by the Resident at Lucknow, without waiting for whose advice they were to commence purchasing and collecting grain for the above purpose immediately.[26]

That the situation had become to a certain extent easier in 1799 will appear from the following quotation of Price Current of Grains from 15th to 19th October 1799 in Purnea:

	Md.	sr.	
Basmatty Rice—			
1st sort	0	30	For a rupee.
2nd sort	1	0	
3rd sort	1	5½	
Aghany Rice—			
1st sort	1	15	
2nd sort	1	20	
Bhadoi Rice—			
1st sort	1	25	
2nd sort	1	27½	
Paddy—			
1st sort	2	30	
2nd sort	2	35	
Gohum (wheat)—			
1st sort	1	10	
2nd sort	1	22	
3rd sort	1	30	
Jaw	2	35	

[25] G. H. Barlow, Sub-Secretary to Revenue Department to Collector of Purnea, 17th October, 1794—Purnea Records.

[26] Proceedings of the Rt. Hon'ble Governor-General in Council in Political Department dated 24th December, 1798—Saran Records.

	Md.	sr.	
Boot (gram)	1	21	For a rupee-
Cubhi (pease)	1	10	
Moong	1	10	
Khesaree	2	10	
Masoor	1	$27\frac{1}{2}$	
Arhar	1	0	
Muttar	1	25	
Mustard	0	30	
Till	0	$22\frac{1}{2}$	
Dal of Arhar	0	$27\frac{1}{2}$	
Dal of Khesari	1	$27\frac{1}{2}$	
Dal Moong	0	35	
Dal Culthi	1	5	
Dal of Boot	1	$2\frac{1}{2}$	
Dal Masoor	1	$12\frac{1}{2}$	

APPENDIX.

PRICES OF GRAINS.

Statement A.

	Sarcar Saran Sr. for Re. 1.	Sarcar Champaran Sr. for Re. 1.
Raw Rice—		
1st Class	88	100
2nd Class	110	120
3rd Class	130	130
Usna Rice—		
1st Class	125	130
2nd Class	150	156
3rd Class	160	166
Santee	165	190
Barley	95	100
Janura	240	150
Pease	140	150
Boot, Gram—		
1st Class	115	150
2nd Class	120	150
Khesary Dal	120	125
Urhur	145	140
Oil	19	25
Mustard Seed	90	120
Kodo	105	110
Wheat	140	150
Marooa	110	115
Sawan	115	120

APPENDIX TO PRICES OF GRAINS.

Statement B.

	Md.	sr.	ch.	
Rice—				
1st sort	0	21	15	For a rupee.
2nd sort	0	28	12	
3rd sort	0	33	8	
Rice in Husk	0	37	2	
Kodo	1	2	3	
Santi	1	17	6	
Paddy	1	14	0	
Wheat	0	39	12	
Wheat Flour	0	21	12	
Barley	1	17	6	
Pease	1	10	11	
Arrah—				
Grain	1	3	12	
Dal	0	30	6	
Mustard Seed	0	18	8	
Congrey	1	14	0	
Teesy	0	28	10	
Janera	1	20	12	
Mussory Grain	1	0	8	
Shammah	1	15	12	
Boot	1	5	9	
Moog	0	8	0	
Poppy Seed	0	19	0	
Chinah	1	0	0	
Khesary	0	36	0	
Manskull	0	37	3	

THE DASTŪRU 'L' AMAL OF THE BIJĀPUR COURT.

(By Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A.)

The Dastūru 'l' Amal, meaning a model or rule, contains a register of duties of the officials of the court. Recommendatory in character, the regulations throw some light on the actual working of the Muslim administrative system, its inner springs and practical effects. The official handbooks compiled by Mussabihi, Ibn Tuwair, Ibn Mammati and others supply the reader with a description of the etiquette at the court, rules for the diwan and records of official surveys under the Khalifate.

In imitation of the Khalif's court, the Dastūru 'l' Amals were compiled in Mughal India in the Seventeenth Century. They principally deal with the revenue, expenditure, official procedure, functions of officers, weights and measures, rates of jazya, classification of officers, rules regulating promotion, dismissal and leave of officers and the like.

The Muslim ruling dynasties of southern India like the Mughals of the trans-vindhya ranges on the north had their own Dastūru 'l 'Amal. Such official guide-books like the Mughal court-manuals were prepared in the Seventeenth Century. Ibrāhim Zubairi, the author of Basātin-us-Salātin, gives a summary of the Dastūru 'l' Amal that is supposed to have been in use at Bijāpur under Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh. It is invaluable to the students of Muslim administrative system in general, and of the history of Bijāpur, and the working of the Ādil Shāhi administrative machinery in particular. It provides a running survey of the duties of the sovereign, his daily life, his principle of administration ; of the Hindus, their status and privileges ; of the position of the slaves and the treatment that was accorded to them and other matters.

The principle of government that found current in the various states inside and outside India is very much alike. In every case the government was run on sectarian lines. The development of sectarian monarchy stimulated the rise of sectarian patriotism and in turn the rise of sectarian patriotism aided the development of sectarian monarchy.

Duties of the king:—The Bijāpuri Dastūru 'l' Amal lays down that, the foremost duty of the sovereign is to practise equity in the administration of justice, for, the ruler who has done justice in one moment of his life is much better than one who has passed his life in devotion to God.

The Sultan should look to the comforts of the subject population and make the country habitable and pleasant. The prosperity of the land and the well-being of the people lead to dynastic and imperial stability and overfulness of the state Exchequer. They form the chief asset in the pursuit of fortune.

The ruler should collect an army of warlike soldiers and appoint faithful and intelligent ministers. It is with the help of the soldiers that the Sultan reigns ; the latter should, therefore, take particular care of the soldiers and keep them above all want.

Having conquered territories, recruiting a strong militia, and set the government to rights, the Sultan must turn to the rebellious Zamindars living under his protected territories and suppress them. Next, he must bring round the restive chiefs and other rebels living in the frontiers and their vicinities. The chiefs and soldiers of the conquered territories should be won over and rewarded according to their status and rank with jagirs or salaries. They should not be left without employment as they might create disturbances.

Daily routine of the king :—The king should be diligent and hardworking. From morning till the third ṭās[1] he should pass his time in company of the learned scholars and poets and discuss on current events.

From the fourth to the sixth ṭās he should hold his seat in the hall of public audience and exact obeissance from the high officials, nobles, soldiery and people living nearby. From the seventh to ninth ṭās he should carry on the business of government in private. From the tenth ṭās to one pās (*i.e.*, three hours) of the night he should remain in the retiring room and carry on the work of administration from there. After the ' Ashā ' prayers[2] and the whole of the night the Sultan should enjoy rest and have a will of his own.

On every full-moon, the Sultan should hold public durbar when the high officials, governors, qāzis, writers, scholars, officers, students and others pay him respect. The Sultan should remain in his seat till the third ṭās of the night.

On the beginning of the month, the Sultan should take his seat in the *Dād-i-Mahal* palace from morning to the sixth ṭās and receive homage from the nobles and the viziers. The Sultan should take his seat facing east ; in his front and parallel to the wall lying at the Sultan's back, the assembled persons should remain posted. The assembly-hall should be very wide and spacious.

Condition of the Hindus :—The Hindus should be appointed as *karkuns*[3]. Public demonstration of *holī*, *diwāli*, *dashara* and other festivals should be banned, but private observances of Hindu festivities should not be interfered with. If any Muslim happen to treat a Hindu with disrespect the matter should be ignored. It should be the look out of the government that no Hindu however powerful he may be has an advantage over a Muslim. Jizya should be levied on the Hindus, other idolators and renegades according to the injunctions of the Muhammadan law. Those wealthy who lead an easy-going life have to pay one tola, " four *kanj*[4] and four *khams kanj* " of silver every month. Those wealthy who stick to work have to pay half a tola and " two *kanj* and two *khams kanj* " of silver per month : the traders, employers and professional men have to pay quarter of a tola, " one *kanj* and one *khams kanj* ". Orphans, minors under fifteen years of age, < slaves, blind, and sick persons, paralytic, very old and faqirs should be exempted from the payment of the jizya. The payer should personally appear at the court and ma the payment of the jizya while standing and the officer authorised to receive the payment should accept it while seated on a chair.

Appointment of slaves and officials :—The king should collect Abyssinian, Turki and Indian slaves : the young slaves should be grouped in parties of four and placed under a tutor and they should be appointed to offices according to their merit and ability. The king should dismiss those officials that are liars, insincere, inclined to rebellion, and those that promise to secure gold from the people.

Justice :—The king should deal justice to the plaintiff and the defendant. If the plaintiff happens to tell a lie he should be reprimanded and the defendant be given consolation.

Forts and Citadels :—The forts and citadels should be entrusted to old, sincere and experienced officials. The officers should be transferred to different places every third year. Every citadel or fort that has a large territory under its control should be left under *Nā'ib-i-ghaibat*, [5] Qazi, Khātib,[6] and other officials.

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[1] Basátin us Salátin p. 357 reads طاس.
[2] The prayer of sunset or nightfall.
[3] The registrar of the collections.
[4] The word is probably Deccani urdu, signifying a weight.
[5] Vice-gerent.
[6] A preacher.

Subās, perganās and mouzās :—The big territories should be divided into subās, perganās and mouzās and placed under *khās-i-khail* (state cavalry). The bigger countries and the important forts should be kept separate, while the smaller ones should be conferred on jagirdars and *ikta'adars*.

Mints, weights and measures :—Mints should be established in subās, and coins struck like those at the capital. Having due regard for the local customs, the weights and measures of the subās should be made to tally with those that prevail at the capital.

Friday prayers :—Care should be taken that on every Friday, the Qazi, Khātib, the officials, nobles and the people assemble at the jami mosque and read the *Khutba*. Those that are unable to attend the jami mosque should be made to attend some other masjid. It is the duty of the Khātibs to see that people attend the congregational prayers.

Alms-houses :—The old alms-houses attached to masjids, Āsār Mubārak (memorial house of the Prophet), and the mausoleums of holy persons should be allowed to remain, and steps be taken to keep unimpaired the customary distribution of food to the poor and needy.

Madrasas :—In the Āsār Sharīf there should be two madrasas for imparting lessons in *Hādis* (sayings or traditions of Muhammad), *Fiqa* (theology), and *Ilm-i-'Aimān* (knowledge of religion). The student should be provided free of cost with fooding ; they are to be given *biryāni* (toasts) and *muza'far* (a kind of polaw) in the morning and bread (of wheat) and *khichri*[1] in the evening. Besides the food supplied, the students should be provided with one hun in cash and, in addition, books on Arabic and Persian. Examinations should be held every year and the successful candidates should be presented with huns in cash.

Elementary education maktabs :—In the jami masjid, there should be two maktabs for children, two maktabs for the study of Arabic and two maktabs for the Persian studies. The poor students are to be supplied in the morning with 2 breads and *khichri* per head and *biryāni*, *muza'far* and sweets in the evening. They should also receive one hun per month and the text books from the state.

Annual examinations should be held at the end of Zilhijjah and prizes (of one hun) offered to students. The meritorious and successful candidates should be appointed in high and honourable positions.

Maintenance and erection of masjids :—Provisions should be made for the repair and maintenance of the masjid that is situated at the capital. Every other masjid should equally be provided with grants of money and oil (quarter seer and four *chekkāni*) ; keepers and priests should be appointed for their administration. Arrangements should be made for providing the masjids with drinking water, *Sxf-i-boria* (mattresses), and *jānamāj-i-satranji* (prayer-carpets).

In the month of Ramazān the Qur'ān should be read at the masjids.

New constructions of masjids :—No one should be allowed to construct a masjid in the city without the royal authority. Unless the newly constructed masjids are well provided with means for their sustenance, the act of construction is criminal. But if the construction is absolutely necessary, state maintenance should be sought for such newly reared up prayer houses. It is well that instead of constructing new masjids attempts should be made for establishing guest houses, inns, embankments, wells and reservoirs.

[1] An Indian dish of rice boiled with pulse and spices.

Masjids during Ramazān :—In the month of Ramazān the mosques should be provided with *Saf-i-boria*, water-pots, and the prayer houses should be white-washed. In the big masjids famous *khātib* and "listeners" should be appointed and they be maintained with government stipends. *Namāz tarāwīh*[1] should be read in accordance with the *sha'riat*[2] and *sunnat*[3] and the injunctions of the Qāzis, *Muftis*,[4] *Sheikh-ul-Musaikh*[5] and the Sultan. Steps should be taken that people do not perform any immoral act, such as, drinking of wine, and pressure should be put on them in such a manner that they give up their bad habits : the ceremony or anniversaries of holy men who are dead should be properly performed and the necessary rites connected therewith be observed.

The Darwesh who has a residence (*sahib-i-takiyā*) should be rewarded. In the masjids and the Rauzās arrangements for drinking water be made and lavatories provided. The alms-houses attached to jami mosques should supply baked bread to Muslims and flour and *birinj* (rice) to the poor Hindus. The Hindu pedestrians should be supplied with on the first day with a seer and a quarter of flour and half seer of *birinj*, quarter seer of pulse and quarter seer of mustard oil, besides fuel and condiments.

Maintenance of roads :—The safety of the roads on the frontiers should be maintained, the conditions of the pedestrians enquired into and the brigands kept in check.

Disbursement of spoils of war:—The spoils of war, such as, *zakat* and *khums* should be placed at the jami mosque or mahal Āsār Mubārak and spent in accordance with the injunctions of the *Shari'at*. A new department should be established for the disbursement of the money so collected. The faqirs, poor and other deserving people should be protected and according to the Quran they should be given stipends and jagirs.

Official appointments :—The officials should be appointed from persons who are respectable, prudent, experienced, foresighted, and religious. The *Majmu'dārs*[6] should be experienced. 2 Qazis, 2 *Sheikh-ul-Musaikhs*, 2 *Sadrus-Sudūr*[7] and one *Khātib* for the jami mosque and two *khatibs* for the two 'Id-gāhs, one *amīn*[8] and one kotwal should be appointed (for the capital city and important cities). The salaries of the officials should be fixed in accordance with their needs and demands. The salaries should be paid out of the revenue of the villages which are kept apart for the purpose.

Public charity :—Every year, in the month of Rabi-ul-awwal presentations of money should be made at the Āsār Sharīf. One thousand huns should be distributed on the 1st day, two thousand on the 2nd day, three thousand on the third day and so on, so that, on the 12th day, twelve thousand huns should be spent in charity. The total amount thus distributed in the course of these twelve days should be 78,000 huns.

Likewise on the month of Muharram 55,000 huns should be given away in presentations. In addition to these cash payments four villages should be kept separated for giving jagirs to the servants and nobles of the court.

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[1] Twenty or more genuflexions which the Muhammadans are wont to make after the last prayer of Ramazān.
[2] The supplementary laws given by Muhammad.
[3] The traditions of Muhammad supplementing the Qur'ān.
[4] An expounder of the Muhammadan law.
[5] Doctor learned in religion and law.
[6] An Indian phrase, meaning one who checks or audits the account of the revenue collector in each district.
[7] Chief judge.
[8] Superintendent.

The staff of the fort commandants :—The governor of a fort should be supplied with 500 cavalry, so that, he might protect the gates and the territories under his control and thus discharge his duties efficiently. He should be also provided with 5,000 warlike *barqandāz*[1], half of which should be artillery-men and the other half spearsmen. If necessary, the number of soldiers should be increased. In fine, the artillery-men and archers should be without any equal in efficiency. The horse-men and footmen should reside at the city.

Trustworthy news-writers and truthful chroniclers should be appointed for recording events. A few cavalry and infantry should be lodged at the top and the foot of the entrance gate, so that, their services be requisitioned in time of need. None should have ingress and egress inside or outside the fort without the order of the gatekeeper. Before granting permission for an ingress into the fort, the gate-man should fully inquire into the identity of the person, the place he hailed from, his destination and his period o stay.

Currency :—The *Zarrāb-Khānā* or the mint for coining should be placed under an *Hakim*[2] and *'Amīl*[3]. The coins should be made of gold, silver and copper. The huns, half-huns and quarter-huns should be made of gold : *rupiya*, half-*rupiya* and quarter-*rupiya* be made of silver : six-*chital*, three-*chital*, two-*chital* and one-*chital* be made of copper.

The species should be made uniform in weight, size and purity. In case of discrepancy the coiner should be duly taken to task.

Gardens, roads and shops :—The king should put his best efforts in making the city habitable and laying beautiful gardens in it. The beauty of the city is enhanced by the gardens that lie inside and outside the city walls.

The roads that lie between the king's court and the two city gates should be properly and carefully maintained. Shops should be established on both sides of the road, so that, the purchasers secure their articles from either side and find little difficulty in their transactions. No seller should be allowed to dispose of his articles inside the road, and no permits should be allowed for erecting shops on it. The shops of the grocers and others should be ranged one after the other on the two sides of the road. The grain sellers of the neighbouring countries should be collected and made to reside in the city. It is in the excess stock of grain that lie the increase of population and the happiness of the soldiery.

Kotwal's duty :—The kotwal should keep a vigilant eye on the city and the market place. He must know the thieves and the pickpockets. If he happens to be informed of any theft he should lay his hands on the culprit and punish the mis-creants according to the laws of the *Shariat*.

Suppression of official tyranny :—The princes and the high officials of the court and their attendants and followers should not be permitted to tyrannise over the subject population. But in cases of high-handedness the ruler should do proper justice but not before the matter is brought to the cognizance of the judge.

Chain of justice :—A stringed bell bigger than those that are kept fastened to the foreparts of the elephants should be hung up in the palace, so that, when the petitioner rings it the sound reaches the innermost recesses of the royal residence where the king may remain and attracts his attention. It is only when the petitioner finds his petition not taken care of by the officials and *munsifs* that he should pull the chord of the bell of justice. It is necessary the people should have an access to the bell at a particular time of the day and not on all hours of the morning or evening.

[1] Guard.
[2] Mint Master.
[3] Official functionary.

Conferment of jagirs :—At the time of giving away lands and jagirs, the out-turn of the last three years of the particular land should be taken into consideration. In fixing the yield the maximum return of the three years should not be left out of consideration.

Branding system :—The horses of the jagirdars should be demanded at the Court for inspection and branding. Likewise, an inspection of the footmen that a jagirdar is to maintain in accordance with the statutes should also be made. If any fraud on the part of the fief-holder is found out in this respect he should be reprimanded and punished and, if necessary, dismissed from office. The officials in charge of branding should impress the official mark by the side of the private stamp of the owner.

Employment of specialists in the arts and sciences :—Four experts in arts and sciences should be maintained at the court. They increase the dignity of the royal court. They should be made to perform their duties at stated hours. In some cases the attendance at the court may be exempted. It is the duty of the *Shab-i-Nawis* to note the presence and absence of the officers, and in cases of absence, he should institute enquiries into the cause of it. In cases of regular non-attendance the matter should be brought to the cognizance of the Sultan.

Rules relating to cleanliness :—The main road, streets and lanes, the front of the private residences and market-place should all be kept neat and clean.

Nauroz and other festivals : *Illuminations and Presentations* :—The market and the shops should be illuminated and embellished on the two Ids, Shab-i-barat, Nauroz and its nine days and the birth-day of the Sultan. On the day of Nauroz, the *Nauroza bagh*, where the Sultan occasionally goes for pleasure and trip, should be properly figged out like the *Rauza-i-Rizwan* (garden of Paradise). All the shops and benches and the hall should be rigged out and both the interior and exterior of the garden should be rendered attractive. On any one day of the *Nauroz* festival, the Sultan should ride to the garden and take his pleasure. The intellectuals and the specialists should attend the durbar on all the nine days of the *Nauroz* and make a public display of their skill and attainments. The Sultan, on his part, should on this occasion reward the amins, and nobles, and their attendants and also the havildars of the mahals and the *kārkhānās* (factories) with presents and gifts according to their rank and merit. Similar presentations should be made to the officials and inmates of the royal harem.

Festival on Rabi-ul-awwal :—Throughout the month of Rabi-ul-awwal, the holy birth month of the Prophet and especially on the eleventh day of the month on which Muhammad was born, the Sultan should make a pilgrimage to Äsār sharif (or the hall where the relics of Muhammad are placed), hold public feats and dinners of choicest viands, recite the *tahlil* (praising God by saying لا اله الا الله[1]) and dole out gifts. On such public dinners the deserving people, students, theologians, scholars, Qāzis, holy persons, nobles and officials of the court should be invited and fed. In such feats the Sultan should play the host on Thursdays and on the twelfth and fifteenth of the month (Rabi-ul-awwal).

The wide space on the two sides of the jami masjid, the vestibule and the balcony should be decorated on this occasion. The reservoirs should be well-filled with pure water. The *Langars* where the distribution of food is made should be kept neat : arrangements for the supply of drinking water to the Muslims and Hindus should be made. The public rest rooms attached to the masjid should be supplied with specialists in the arts and sciences.

[1] *i.e., lā ilāha illā'illāh.* There is no god but God.

Dad-i-mahal market:—The markets situated on the two sides of the court area should be composed of shops, spacious and handsome and having long rows of roofs made of stone and mortar. Merchants, traders, and workmen should be made to reside in these shops. Bakeries, confectioneries, dry-fruit agencies and flower-selling stalls should be established in the market. No space in the market should be allowed to remain unoccupied by the stall keepers and the sale of articles of every description and variety should be encouraged. For the convenience of the people a big reservoir well-filled with pure water should be constructed in the open space in front of the court surrounded by shops on both its sides. Trees should be planted in front of the shops for the purpose of enhancing the beauty of the market.

The kotwals and the shop keepers should be enjoined to observe the laws of cleanliness ; weeds and straws and dust should be removed. The front of the shops should be levelled and watered.

The shop-roofs of the *Dād-Mahal* market should be decorated and furnished with sitting accommodation for the Sultan who may inspect the whole transaction of the market from his seat.

The front sides and top of the durbar, and the shops should be decked, and sign-boards with beautiful golden letters hung in the front.

SOME UNPUBLISHED ENGLISH LETTERS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF BENGAL DURING THE REGIMES OF SHUJĀUDDĪN AND SĀRĀFRAJ.

(By Dr. Kalinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.)

The Imperial Record Department of the Government of India preserves in its collections transcripts of some India Office Records, entitled ' Letters from the Council in Calcutta and others to the Court of Directors, dated the 15th December, 1703—the 22nd December, 1748 '. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., utilized some of these for the first volume of his ' *Fall of the Mughal Empire* ' ; and I have exhaustively used those dated since 1740 A.D., in my own humble way, for my ' *Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah, 1740-70* ' and ' *Alivardi and His Times* '. While writing the chapter on ' *The Successors of Murshid Quli* ' for the ' *History of Bengal* ' to be published by the Dacca University, I had the opportunity, about a year back, to make a detailed study of the *Letters* covering the regimes of Shujāuddīn and Sārāfrāz, which leads me to believe that they are of profound importance for the purpose of a scientific reconstruction of the different aspects of the history of Bengal during that period, our knowledge of which (particularly from 1723 to 1739 A.D.) has been yet rather imperfect being based only on some Persian works like the *Siyar-ul-mutakherin*, *the Muzaffarnamāh*, the *Tārikh-i-Bangālah* and *the Riyāz-us-salātin*, on *Stewart's History of Bengal*, and on the uncritical and mostly inaccurate accounts of Holwell, Orme and Scrafton. The co-ordination of these *Bengal Letters* with the contemporary *Consultations* (1) and *Letters from the Court of Directors*, both available not in India but in the India Office in London and extracts from only a few of which have been quoted by C. R. Wilson in his ' *Old Fort William in Bengal*' would form a precious supplement to C. R. Wilson's ' *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* '(which itself ' entirely superseded ' the ' fragmentary narrative ' given by J. Talboys Wheeler in his ' *Early Records of British India*, Calcutta, 1878 ') and would serve as a storehouse of information for researches into the history of Bengal, the richest province of the Mughal Empire, during the last days of the latter. Their critical study would help us considerably to understand the genesis of the mid-eighteenth century political and economic revolutions in Bengal, pregnant with weighty consequences for the subsequent history of our country. Even the independent value of the *Letters* can hardly be overestimated.

In consideration of limited time and space at our disposal, I am not utilizing here all the materials available in the *Letters*, but am referring only to the more important extracts from some of these just to indicate the importance of the whole series.

Nādir's invasion.—There are some deserving of special notice from the political point of view. Thus it is interesting to note from a few of them that the English in Bengal and Bihār, apprehending that Nādir's invasion by causing a ' political revolution ' in the country might affect them also, tried to obtain necessary information regarding his march and even adopted some precautionary measures to safeguard their interests in Bihār. The Persian invasion did not, of course, exercise any appreciable influence on the eastern *subah* of the Mughal Empire, and scholars differ in their opinions as to whether the inroads of Ahmad Shāh Abdāli, particularly

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1 *Cf.* " Have no Harmony at present with the Country Government, for their conduct refer to Consultations of the 28th February, 18th March, 12th April, 27th May, and 9th June. Mr. Braddyll etc. ordered to accommodate Matters. Translate of the Perwanah entered 15th July ". Letter to Court, 29th January, 1736, para. 88.

that of 1766-67, formed a real menace (1) to Bengal or not (2). But this much is certain that both caused considerable anxiety in the minds of the English as well as other people in Bengal and the latter largely influenced British north-western policy in India. It is also highly significant that Nādir's plunder caused silver scarcity, even in the Bengal subah, and had thus some share in producing currency disorders in the province during the 18th century.

The aforesaid observations regarding Nādir's invasion are based on the following passages of some of the *Letters* :—(A) " Send Translate of Dilly (Delhi) Newspapers as to Shaw Nadir's Progress. The Vizier Nazar Mulmullucks (?) son is expected by the Nabob to pass through his province to the southward, who is preparing an Army to meet him, have little reason to doubt of shortly seeing the King of Persia master of the Empire ". (Letter to Court, 29th January, 1738, para. 72).

(B) " It is reported Shah Nadir King of Persia has entered the kingdom of Indostan and is on his march to Dilly " (Letter to Court, 7th August, 1738, para. 9).

(C) " Shaw Nadir King of Persia after the conquest of Qandahar made himself master of Kabul province, passed the River at Attock and Marched towards Dilly, the subahs submitting or making little resistance, after an engagement with Mahomet Shaws (Muhammad Shāh's) forces near Dilly, the two Kings had an interview, Mahomet Shaw at a second interview was made Prisoner by the King of Persia who seized and entered Dilly, made himself Master of the Crown Jewels, Treasure and Royalties and plundered the city. He then left Mahomet Shaw in possession of the Throne and marched back towards Persia with Immense riches." (Letter to Court, 24th December, 1739, para. 121).

(D) " By the Patna Advices Extracted in consultation appear the Persian's Progress in this Empire, and the necessity for sending a large Party to Patna to Protect the Company's Effects, a Revolution being expected. " (Letter to Court, 10th December, 1738, para. 26).

(E) " ***feared troubles at latter End of the Season by Revolution, must begin (Investments) Early. " (Letter to Court, 24th December, 1739, para. 97).

(F) " The storm which threatened that (Delhi) Empire having blown over without affecting the lower provinces where the Aurungs are, Expect the Investment to be fully completed. " (*Ibid*, para. 101).

(G) " Settling a Factory at Bennarass (Benares) put a stop to by Troubles up country shall promote it upon a good footing by Morud Cawn (Murid Khān, Yusuf Ali, f.20 ; Siyar, Vol. II, p. 496) at Court. " (*Ibid*, para. 128).

(H) " Patna desire 30,000 Thirty thousand maund copper may be sent having a sure vend, the Mint-Master agreeing to take all that comes by contract though one hundred thousand maund.******

The Reason for this demand is to coin pice to circulate in the room of silver carried away in immense quantities by Shah Nadir. " (Letter to Court, 28th January, 1739, para. 10).

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[1] Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee, *Verelst's Rule in India*, Chapter I.

[2] Dr. Asirbardi Lal Srivastava, *Was the Abdali invasion of 1766-67 a Real Menace to Bengal, in Journal of Indian History*, April 1940.

Marātha advance to Benares and consequent panic in Bihār.—We knew on the authority of some contemporary Persian letters, discovered about two years back at Patna (1), that the advance of the Marāthas to Mirzāpur and Benares in 1738 with a design to march further into Bihār caused considerable anxiety to the government of Bihār and consternation among its people. The following extracts fully corroborate this highly interesting piece of information, which shows how the fear of Marātha incursion weighed heavily on the minds of the officers, traders and common people of the eastern province of the Mughal Empire even before it actually fell on them since 1742 A.D. :—

(*a*) " The Geenims (Marāthas) approach to Bennarass (Benares) with design to plunder Patna Province obliged them to send an Armament to secure the Factory and Effects. " (Letter to Court, 29th January, 1738, para. 71).

(*b*) " The Party sent to Patna is detained there till the Government is settled. " (*Ibid*, para. 73).

(*c*) " Being Alarmed in April that the Gunaims (Marāthas) had passed Benares to Attack Patna sent 100 men to protect the Factory, but the Rains prevented Badjeray (Bāji Rāo) entering that province. So the detachment was recalled. " (Letter to Court, dated 7th August, 1738, para. 9).

The Nawāb's government and the European traders.—The *Letters* further contain some highly significant details regarding the relations between the Nawāb's government and the European traders, particularly the English. It is clear from certain references that the authority of the former was strictly enforced on the latter. Thus the Council in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors on the 16th January, 1733 :— " Had a prospect for some time of having a good understanding preserved with the Government, and on Advice that some Orders were coming from Court in their Favour, ordered Cossimbazar to let it be known they intended a present of about 8,000 Rupees to the Nabob, but by the avaritious Temper of this Government were frustrated as per the following account.

A Gomastah of Contoo's who had fled from justice here exhibited a complaint against them as being possessed of his Effects representing Contoo owed him 40,000 Rupees but on the contrary he being a considerable debtor of Contoo's they offered 1,000 or 1,500 Rupees to have this man delivered up, but the Affair was not so easily accommodated ; another unlucky Affair happened, some of their soldiers being sent after Deserters went into the Nabob's camp who were taken and imprisoned, and at the same time a complaint being made of a much larger quantity of salts (salt-petre) on the Patna Fleet than usually allowed the soldiers, which to accommodate the Affairs of that Factory they had been forced to present the Nabob with 24,000 Rupees besides 15,000 which it cost to adjust the salt Affair. Mr. Cole (Chief of the Patna Factory) etc. are ordered to take care to be reimbursed from the proprietors of the salt. The Dutch paid a large sum last year for some of their soldiers buying slaves at Patna. The French have had some of theirs under a long Imprisonment for firing on a chowky (customs-station), and one of their own is now a prisoner at Muradavab (Murshidābād) who is accused of robbing a small Boat with Treasure belonging to the King. Have ordered Cassimbazar to acquaint the Nabob they cannot think the Man guilty and doubt not his impartial Examination, but he will be absolute as will appear by a renewal of a complaint which was exhibited against Coja Nazir as per Consultation 2nd August 1722 and 20th January 1724-5 of which the said Coja Nazir was acquited notwithstanding which the Nabob insists on having a Re-examination before him in behalf of the Complainant, and hearing he was going

(1) *Inshā-in-Gharib*, compiled in 1738 A. D. by Lālā Ujāgarchānd poetically surnamed ' *Gharib* ' and ' *Ulfat* '. *Vide Hindustan Review*, 1938.

to England, sent orders not permit him to go, and to prevent the very ill consequences that might attend his going, they ordered the Commanders not to take him aboard and took security from him not to quit the place without their permission " (1).

The Council in Calcutta described Shujā-ud-dīn as a " rash and powerful subah " (2) and did not consider it prudent to come to an open " rupture " with him, which they apprehended " will be a great Advantage to their Neighbours (the French and the Dutch) who would push their Trade with more vigour, and not unlikely underhand assist the Government to supplant them, unless the Dutch and French Companys would enter into an Agreement to resent all Insults offered to either Nation..... " (3).

On the strength of some old *firmans* (4), the English Company paid Rs. 3,300 (5) a year to the Nawāb's government, " in lieu of customs (6) " through the *faujdār* at Hugli, which was still the grand emporium of trade in Bengal (7). But often it became necessary for them, for the interest of their trade, to satisfy the Nawāb by paying additional sums of money (8). They had also to put up with occasional interferences by the Nawāb in the collection of investments. Thus early in 1733 the Council in Calcutta was " informed from Patna that the Nabob (Nawāb) having marched his Troops where the petre (saltpetre) is provided has occasioned the labouring people to quit their Habitations, and the Nabob having ordered Ten Thousand Maunds on his own Account will cause a great scarcity of that commodity, have therefore ordered all the petre that can be met with elsewhere to be bought up " (9) The English further complained against impositions levied on them by the Nawāb's customs-officers. Thus the Council in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors on the 8th February, 1733 :—(*a*) " Can not but continue in the same opinion penned down in their letter per Devonshire in relation to Impositions of the Government being often insulted by the Chowkeys and petty officers, having Money extorted from the people on their Boats etc. " (10) ; (*b*) " The Dacca Goods provided by their Broker came out extravagantly dear occasioned by the Imposition of the Government and other extraordinary charges..... " (11). Within a few months in the same year the Nawāb's officers at Dacca and Jugdea proved " very troublesome " (12) to the local English factors and " impeded their affairs " (13). About the month of May 1734, the Nawāb " was determined that they (the English) should not make that Investment without satisfying him, and they thought it best to make an Agreement with him for Rupees 4,000 besides the usual present on the Visit which was

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[1] Paras 103 and 104.
[2] Letter to Court, 26th December, 1733, para. 57.
[3] *Ibid*, para. 58.
[4] Stewart, *History of Bengal*, Appendices, VIII, IX, X.
[5] Mentioned as Rs. 3,000 in the *firmans*.
[6] Letter to Court, 24th January, 1735, para. 111
[7] Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, pp.83-4.
[8] *cf.* (*a*) " The several sums given the Nabob in 1731 were not intended for Loans, and hope the Court will not think them blameable that no part of the Money is recovered " (Letter to Court, 8th February, 1733, para. 9).

(*b*) " Could not comply with the Court's directions on delivering an Arisdast (petition) to the Nabob for demanding the abovementioned money, as it would occasion a Rupture without any hopes of recovering the money. " (*Ibid*, para. 10).

[9] Letter to Court, 8th February, 1733, para. 5.
[10] para. 6.
[11] para. 27.
[12] Letter to Court, 10th November, 1733, para. 9.
[13] Letter to Court, 26th December, 1733, para. 43.

to be made on making up the Affair " (1). The Cāssimbāzār factors too had to " accommodate affairs " with the Murshidābād *darbār* and restore " the currency of their business " by the beginning of the year 1735 after having spent much, and the " Salt affair was paid separately to get the Patna Fleet away " (2). After a few months in the same year the *faujdār* of Balasore " being become very insolent " (3), the Council in Calcutta agreed " that a Serjeant Corporal and eight men be kept there to maintain the Company's privileges " (4).

The general attitude of the members of the Council in Calcutta as regards the impositions of the Nawāb's government was expressed by them in para. 57 of their letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 26th December, 1733, wherein they observed :—" In relation the Impositions of the Government are inclined to think it will be most advisable to submit to the Expenses by making Presents now and then to the under officers of the Durbar and those that have authority in several other places from doing them ill offices. " They sought to avoid " engaging in dispute with the Government but when their privileges were attacked " (5).

But in the year 1735 the Nawāb demanded of the English " Arrears of Rent of their Towns, calculating from the year Money was paid on the like occasion of Jaffer Cause (Murshid Quli Jafar Khān) " (6). A similar demand was made on the Dutch for their settlement at Barānagar (7). Mr. Barker, chief of the English factory at Cāssimbāzār, informed the Council in Calcutta that the Nawāb " was determined to have the money at all events disregarding their former Grants etc. " (8), and that if he was not " soon satisfied, Affairs must come to an open Rupture " (9). Not to speak of " dropping his Demand " on the English, the Nawāb issued orders " for the prevention of their purchasing saltpetre at Patna " and " stopped their goods at Azemgunge " (near Murshidābād) (10), Hugli, Jellenghee (11) and several other places. The Council in Calcutta thereupon decided on the 26th January, 1736, " to give Mr. Barker (chief of the Cāssimbāzār factory), etc. a discretional power to accommodate Matters with the Nabob (Nawāb) " (12). At the same time " for the clearance of the Company's Goods and protection of their Dusticks (*dastaks*), they sent up a strong party of Men to Hughly (Hugli), on which the Delivery of goods was immediately ordered without bloodshed " (13). In fact, the Council now decided to " stand out " against the Nawāb's impositions (14).

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1 Letter to Court, 24th January, 1735, para. 79.

2 *Ibid*, para. 91.

3 Letter to Court, 28th December, 1735, para. 73.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Letter to Court, 28th December, 1735, para. 67.

6 *Ibid*, para. 66.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

10 Letter to Court, 6th February, 1736, para. 5.

11 Letter to Court, 20th February, 1736, para. 8.

12 Letter to Court, 6th February, 1736, para. 6.

13 Letter to Court, 20th February, 1736, para. 5.

14 Letter to Court, 29th January, 1736, para. 61.

As for the Nawāb's demand on " account of the towns " the Dutch had " finished their matters for about the sum demanded including presents to the officers etc. " (1). The *Vakil* of the English at the Murshidābād *darbar* informed the Council in Calcutta that " by forbearance and his Dexterity he had hopes of getting a Perwanah for the currency of their business for 10,000 Rupees, but that just as things were on this footing the news of their having sent soldiers to Hughly so incensed the Nabob that he threatened to stop their Business " (2). But the members of the Council regarded this " story " as " very unlikely " (3), connected, in their opinion, by the said *vakil* " with a view of recommending himself and to amuse them with a show of advantage " (4). They argued that the amount mentioned by him was much less than what the Dutch had to pay and that Mr. Barker " would not have rejected accommodating Matters when it was to be done for that sum " (5). As a matter of fact, the Nawāb refused to accept even 20,000 or 30,000 rupees, offered by the members of the Cāssimbāzār factory, and was determined to have a full compliance with his demand for several lacs of rupees (6). At this the Council in Calcutta directed Mr. Barker to "acquaint the (Nawāb's) Government that under such imposition they could not carry on the Company's Business and were determined not to give their Dadney, and ** that no Dustucks should be given for the Exportation or Importation of any Goods or Treasure, and that all the Merchants and Company's servants be ordered to recall their Gomastahs from the Aurungs " (7). At last matters were accommodated, through the mediation of Hāji Ahmad (brother of Alivardi and a principal officer of Shujāuddīn's government), for 55,000 rupees. On the 6th July, 1736, the Company received the *parwānahs* " for the currency of their trade " (8). But shortly they had some trouble with Hāji Ahmad at Patna as regards the provision of saltpetre (9). Within a few months they came to be, however, on " very good terms with the Country Government " (10), and impediments to their trade at Dacca and other places were removed (11).

Shujā-ud-dīn died in March 1739, and soon after the accession of his son Sarāfrāz to the *masnad* of Murshidābād, the latter's insincere officers, Hāji Ahmad and Rāyrāyān Alamchānd, in league with Fatehchānd Jagat Seth, persuaded the simple-minded Nawāb to strike *siccas* and to read the *khutba* in the name of Nādir Shāh, who after his victory over the imbecile Delhi Emperor then " lived at Delhi as King" (12). On the 11th May, 1739, Haji Ahmad passed orders for stopping the trade of the English Company and demanded from them a certain sum in order to procure a *firman* for them from the " New King " (Nādir Shāh) (13). Thereupon

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[1]Letter to Court, 20th February, 1736, para. 6.

[2]*Ibid*, para. 7.

[3]*Ibid.*

[4]*Ibid.*

[5]*Ibid.*

[6]*Ibid*, para 8 ; Letter to Court, 24th July, 1736, para. 3.

[7]*Ibid.*

[8]*Ibid*, para. 4.

[9]Letter to Court, 20th February, 1737, para. 12.

[10]Letter to Court, 20th July, 1737, para. 10.

[11]Letter to Court, 29th January, 1738, para. 70.

[12]Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, p. 373 ; K. K. Datta, *Alivardi and His Times*, p. 18.

[13]Letter to Court, 24th December, 1739, para. 123. (Most probably the news of Nadir's return march from Delhi since the 5th May, 1739 had not yet reached Bengal)

the Council in Calcutta asked the Cāssimbazār factors to satisfy him " on Easy Terms " (1). Soon the Nawāb of Bengal realized his folly and destroyed the " stamps " of Nādir Shāh on the 30th May (2). But as for the English he demanded from them 15,000 rupees as present, and it was through the influence of Fatehchānd that the whole affair was settled by the payment of 10,000 rupees (2). Again after the confirmtion of Sarāfrāz as the *subahdār* of Bengal and Bihār by the Delhi Emperor, he expected " a visit and present " from the English (3). They offered him Rs. 13,787-11-6, equivalent to what they had paid to Shujāuddīn (4). But the Nawāb urged for something more on the ground that he had preseved peace within the province at a time of great political disorder in other parts of India. The English, however, argued that they on their part had indirectly helped his government by maintaining a force at Patna (5). The Bengal Revolution of 1739-40 did not materially affect the English there. The Court of Directors wrote to the Council in Bengal on the 29th July , 1741 :— " We are pleased that no bad consequence ensued to us on the Nabob being slain in Battle, however as affairs in the Moghul Empire are in a very precarious situation, we would have our several Settlements be put and kept in the best Posture of defence, For we shall cheerfully allow any charge requisite, for the Security of Our Property " (6).

While occasionally submitting to the pecuniary demands of the Bengal Nawābs, the English did not lack in their efforts to secure favourable orders for their trade from the Imperial Court at Delhi (7). Their *vakil* at Delhi wrote to the Council in Calcutta early in February, 1733, that Coja Serhand (8) had " procured a confirmation of the privileges from the present King " (9), and he sent them the ' *Husbulhookum* ', granting those privileges, through the English factory at Patna. But the Council in Calcutta " finding the *Husbulhookum* received from Patna not so fully expressed as they would have it, they sent up the Draught of another, directing the payment of the Money for it on the Vackeel's (*vakil's*) procuring one conformable thereto " (10). The efficacy of the orders of the Imperial government, whose impotence was visible to the world, was however doubtful, particularly in Bengal, where the Nawābs had made themselves virtually independent, though they remitted annual tribute to Delhi. Thus the Council in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors on the 29th May, 1735 : " Their Nabob (Nawāb) is too absolute to regard any orders, from (Delhi) Court in their Favour, which the Company recommend to be procured the obtaining which would create an expense, the Nabob (Nawāb) sends yearly to Court 1,25,00,000 Rupees which cannot be raised without fleecing the country " (11).

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1 *Ibid.*

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid*, para 127.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid. Vide* ante, pp. 4-6.

6 Wilson, *Old Fort William in Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 154-55.

7 Letter to Court, 16th January, 1733, para. 103.

8 Khwajah Sarhad, the same Armenian gentleman who had accompanied the Surman Embassy to Delhi.

9 Letter to Court, 8th February, 1733, para. 13

10 Letter to Court, 14th February, 1733, para. 28.

11 Para. 71.

Shujā-ud-dīn put forth additional demands on the English on the grounds that they had extended their private trade and made a fradulent use of *dastaks*. He complained that the English were " screening immense quantitys of Merchants Goods, thereby defrauding the King of his customs " (1). The private trade of the Company's servants, a highly obnoxious feature in the economic history of Bengal throughout the 18th century, had already begun to increase. Even the President of the Council in Calcutta had a considerable private trade, as is clear from the following (2) :—(*a*) " The President engaged largely in the purchase of those Goods most of which he distributed abroad on his Private Trade, he has not been able to get ready Money in return. He assigned to them Sundry Debts and Effects and they took back part of the Goods" (para. 35) ; (*b*) "In regard to Ramnaut Bose (Rāmnāth Bose) the President's Banyan the Consultations will show their opinion of the share he seems to have in the Goods put down to his name***** " (para. 37).

There is no doubt that this private trade produced certain evils, prejudicial to the interests not only of the indigenous merchants or the government of the province but also of the Company. There are some incidental references in the *Letters* to show that the Court of Directors discountenanced it. But the Council in Calcutta assured them that " all the caution possible is taken to prevent any private Traders interfering with the Company's Trade " (3). Being opposed to the abolition of private trade and to the withdrawal of the subordinate English factories, it wrote to the Court of Directors on the 31st December, 1737 :—" If with the Dutch the Company allowed no Private Trade their servants must starve (4) while the Dutch Live Great and die Rich, if Private Trade was Forbid still the (Nawāb's) Government would want Money sometimes, they annually have something coming from other European Nations and yet do often squeeze them too, they will not see them Lade even the Company's ships only without some Acknowledgment, are not to be trusted by agreeing for an Annual Sum but might Increase it. Confining the Dusticks to the Company's Investment would be giving up (never to be recalled though desired) a great Article in the Phirmaund it would be an advantage to Private Trade as the Moors customs are lower than the Dutys paid to the Company including what paid abroad and the 2 per cent. consulage for the Moors carry Goods from Port to Port anywhere and the Receipt for Customs at first Exempts from any demand that year (para. 64).

If every Subordinate Settlement was withdrawn the Government would be as Troublesome, it is in their power to stop the investment and keep ships from being laden and the Company's Estate not out of their Reach, Merchants must bring in Goods by their Dusticks or pay Customs, which is giving up the Phirmaund and would make the Company Liable to the Duties on Imports and Exports. If Goods were stopped the Merchants are not able to return the Money. Hope there will be no Necessity to withdraw subordinates....." (para. 65). They also observed in another letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 24th December, 1739 :—" It is absolutely necessary for the Company's Interest to continue Subordinates ..... By Subordinates a large Profit arises from having the Goods at the first value from the Aurungs " (para. 130).

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[1]Letter to Court, 28th December, 1735, para. 66.

[2]Letter to Court, 29th January, 1738.

[3]Letter to Court, 16th January, 1733, para. 98 ; *ibid*, 26th December, 1733, paras. 35 and 43 ; *ibid*, 28th December, 1735, para. 101.

[4]The reference is to the low salaries of the Companys' servants. But truly speaking their lot was not hard because of the high purchasing power of the rupee at that time. J. C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal*, p. 7, footnote.

Evidently the members of the Council in Calcutta, having personal interests in private trade, urged for its continuance as a sort of compensation for their low salaries (1). They may have made some attempts to regulate it. But these certainly failed to effectively remedy the evils, occasioned by it, which aggravated during the subsequent decades.

Similarly, desire for private gain was at the root of the troubles regarding the '*dastaks*', the 'misapplication' of which in the private trade of the English and their disposal even to some native merchants for their own trade, beginning at least since 1704 A.D. (2), if not earlier, was undoubtedly a source of loss to the Nawāb's exchequer and of embarrassment to most of the indigenous merchants of the province, who were required to pay customs according to the current rates. The Company also considered the abuse of *dastaks* to be detrimental to the interests of its trade, and, most likely under pressure from the Court of Directors, the Council in Calcutta took some steps to check it (3). The Council assured the former, on the 24th January, 1735, that they "have had no complaints lately of the Abuses of the Dusticks" (4), on the 31st December, 1737, that "the most effectual care is taken to prevent Illicit Trade and shall Watch narrowly" (5), and on the 24th December, 1739, that "Dusticks are not abused" (6). But our study of the subsequent years of Bengal history tells us that the abuse continued to grow so much so as to evoke loud complaints from Alivardi Khān, and to form an important cause of the disputes between the English and the Nawābs, Sirājuddaulah (7) and Mir Kāsim (8).

From an extract, already noted (9), we find the members of the Council in Calcutta considering themselves entitled to the use of *dastaks* for their personal trade on the strength of the *firman* of Emperor Farrukhsiyar. But their interpretation of it was partial and wrong. What the said *firman* granted was exemption from the payment of customs on exports and imports of the Company as a collective and corporate body (10), and *dastaks* were to be attached to vessels to indicate that they belonged to the Company. It was never intended by that document to extend the same privilege to the private trade of the Company's servants (11). It may be said that, in this respect, the majority of the members of the Council in Calcutta during the *subadārship* of Mir Kāsim inherited a pernicious tradition from some of their predecessors.

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1 For rates of salaries, *vide* Wilson, *Early Annals*, Vol. I, p. 235 and Vol. II, Part I, pp. 82-83.

2 Wilson, *Early Annals*, Vol. I, p. 246 and p. 266.

3 Letter to Court, 16th January, 1733, para. 126 ; *ibid*, 28th December, 1735, para. 114.

4 Para. 116 of the *Letter* of that date.

5 Para. 64 of the *Letter* of that date.

6 Para. 31 of the *Letter* of that date.

7 Wilson, *Old Fort William in Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 60.

8 *Vide* K. K. Datta, *Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah*, Vol. I, 1740-70, pp. 301-43.

9 *Vide ante*, p. 17.

10 "***that all goods and necessarys which their Factors of the Subahship, parts and round About, bring or carry away Either by land or water, Know they are custom free ***". Farrukhsiyar's *Farman* quoted in Wilson's *Early Annals*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 162-69.

11 Messrs. Vansittart and Hastings expressed the same opinion in their letter to the Council, dated the 15th December, 1762. The Court of Directors gave exactly this interpretation of the *firman* in their letter to the Council in Calcutta, dated the 26th April, 1765.

AN UNKNOWN PHASE OF MUGHAL-KOCH RELATIONS.

(BASED ON A NEWLY DISCOVERED PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT.)

(By Mr. S. H. Askari, M. A., B. L.)

Some time back I was lucky enough to discover an old, incomplete, and damaged Persian manuscript[1] containing more than 70 letters which are interesting and of historical value as they throw entirely new light on the activities of the Mughal officials in Koch Bihar in the last few years of Aurangzeb's reign. The letters are undated and not arranged in proper chronological order and, except in a few cases, they bear no names either of the writers or the addressees. But a close and careful study of their contents leaves little doubt that most of them emanated from one, Ali Quli Khan [2], who served more than once as the Foujdar of Koch Bihar and was specially very active during a period of 4 or 5 years of Prince Azim-us-Shan's viceroyalty of the eastern provinces, including Koch Bihar.

Fortunately a portion of the preface is available which says that one, Anchit Rai, collected the " scattered compositions and letters " of his father, Lekhraj[3], which had been addressed " on behalf of high omrahs like Kamgar Khan[4] and Ali Quli Khan to the Court of the refuge of kings, nobles, princes and omrahs and mansabdars " and as " besides political and financial matters which they contained they were not devoid of literary and poetical merits " and were, moreover, approved of by his father's patron and friend, " M. Akhund Muhammad-al-Ashraff-al-Mazindrani "[5]. they were compiled in a book at Rangpur in 1112/1700 and named *Matin Insha*. The versified chronogram which yields this date is somewhat misleading, for, another is one of the congratulatory letters on the accession of Emperor Shah Alam, (L. 12) bears the date 1219/1707, while a third (L. 1) offers felicitations of the " humblest of the devoted born slaves, Ali Quli Khan, " on the birth of a son to the addressee " the bright luminary of the sphere of caliphate and sovereignty " in 1115/1703. Subsequent additions are not uncommon in old Persian mss :, specially in collections of letters, and the unmethodical arrangement followed in the present

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[1]On folio 19a occurs " the owner of the original of the book (was) Mirza Alif Beg ". Brindaban Das, Khusgo, and an unnamed letter writer and poet, both contemporaries of Nawab Haibat Jung of Patna (killed 1748), describe one, Mirza Alif Beg, as a poet and a savant of Azimabad (S. K.).

Two more mss. containing many more letters have since been discovered. One belongs to Rai Brij Raj Kishen and the other (written in 1224 A. H.) belongs to the Wakf Library of Diwan Nasir Ali of Kujhwa (Saran).

[2]We hear from the historian, Kamwar Khan, that one bearing this title was the son of Mahabat Khan Deccani and that he was appointed subadar of Oudh and Faujdar of Gorakhpur in the first years of Shah Alam's reign (T. S. ch. 19a, Kujhwa Ms). It appears from Maasir-ul-Umra that a grandson of this Mahabat Khan who once served as the Governor of the Punjab, came fresh from Persia after the latter entered the service of Aurangzeb, and was given a rank and the title of Mukrimat Khan (M. U. III 632). Internal evidence also establishes this connection. There is, moreover, a " letter (20) of Ali Quli Khan to Fidai Khan, Nazim of the subah of Lahore " in which the latter complains that his jagir in pargana ghoghwal (?) had been turned into the ' Jagir Tan ' of the former and his agent had been expelled by the Foujdar of Chakla Doab (Dist. of Jallandher and Hoshyarpur).

[3]We learn of a collection of letters, named Mufidal Insha, by one Lekhraj, compiled in 1699 (M. R. A. Azamgarh text).

[4]Namdar and Kamgar Khan were the sons of Um-dat-ul-mulk Jafar Khan. Kamgar Khan was replaced in the subadari of Orissa in 47 year 1114/1702 by Murshid Quli Khan (T. S. C. ; M. A.) Kujhwa Mss.

[5]This well-known Persian poet and scholar was a tutor of Princess Zebyn-nisa. On his second visit to India he became attached to Prince Azim-us-Shan, then in Bengal and Bihar, and he died in Monghe in 1116/1704 (S. K., T. M. I.).

compilation does certainly admit of such later insertions. On the whole, however, the letters which are specially important from historical standpoint may be safely referred to the period when Prince Azim-us-Shan was present in Bengal and Bihar.

Letters Nos. 2, 14, 15, 23, 27, 32 and 63 clearly show that the writer, the foujdar of Koch Bihar, despite his anxiety to respond at once to the command, received through the 'Nishan', was prevented from "kissing the dignified threshhold" by the insistent demand for the arrear pay from his soldiery and by his apprehensions from the "power-seeking turbulent people of the land" and when, on receipt of a fresh command, he did manage, sometime after "he had almost finished the work" of "capturing Bihar" "in the beginning of the current year", to wait upon the 'Prince' while the latter was on his way from Jahangirnagar (Dacca) to the Subah of Bihar, (January, 1703) at 20 kos from Rangpur, he found himself replaced by his own son, Mukrimat Khan, in the Foujdari of Sarkar Koch Bihar, to which were added the charges of Akbernagar (Rajmahal) and Ghoraghat by way of appanages. This naturally created bad blood between the father and the son, as is evident from the correspondences between the two, and another son, Muhammad ([6]) Ali, (Ls. 28, 38, 58, 59, 67 and 70) and it also threw the affairs of the 'Chakla' in confusion and caused a good deal of hardships to the dispossessed foujdar (L. 2, 45). The latter was, however, reinstated through the help of an unnamed patron (63). Having received a *khilat*, he intended to proceed by boat *via* Akbarnagar towards Koch Bihar, on the 29th of Moharram, (probably June 3, 1703) but actually he entered the thana of Rangpur on the 11th of Rabi II and assumed charge of his 'Mahals' on the 15th of that month (32, 23, 11). Thus he appears to have remained under suspension for less than a year. We do not know as to when the writer of the majority of the letters was first appointed to the Foujdari of Koch Bihar, though one letter (927) speaks of his having put in a service of 18 or 19 years at the time of his dismissal, while several of the letters refer to his energetic administration for a period of 4 or 5 years. We may refer the letter No. 20 addressed most probably to Murshid Quli Khan to some time about the year 1704 when the latter, after his quarrel with the prince-viceroy was put in charge of the vacant Subadari of Orissa, and had made Mukhsudabad as his residence (M. A., Sir J. N. Sarkar H. A. V, 378). A letter (17) mentioning the chagrin of the 'hypocrite and the mischievous' at the writer obtaining the imperial orders through 'Bakshi-ul-mulk Ruhullah Khan' ([7]) about the "restoration of the monthly allowance" can be placed between 1699 and 1703 and probably it was at some time during this period that the foujdar was granted a kettledrum (L. 28).

But he had very soon to meet with difficulties and handicaps which arose not only from the peculiar nature of the country and its climate, refractory character of its inhabitants, and the active help they received from the Afghan malcontents but also from the rather lukewarm support the faujdar received from the imperial court and the positive hostility he had to face from the interested persons, both Hindus and Musulmans, who had gained the ears of the 'Dewan' and also pulled the wire from behind in the imperial court. There are numerous references to financial matters—questions of jagirs and allowances—and, among others, mention is found of historical personages like Murshid Quli Khan, Bakshi-ul-mulk Sadruddin Muhammad Khan ([8]) etc.

[6]The author of the Assamese history, Rajopakhyan, tells us of a "Foujdar of the Subah of Dacca" who bore this name and made a fruitless advance into Kuch Bihar during the reign of Rup Narain.

[7]The son of the famous Ruhullah Khan I. His sister was married by Prince Azim-us-Shan. He was appointed Bukshi in 44th year=1111/1699 and died young in 48th year=1115/1703. (M. A. ; Kujhwa Ms.).

[8]He was appointed second Bukshi in 1115/1703 and promoted to higher ranks and titles Shah Alam (KK. II, 236).

Lack of space prevents consideration of these matters, and, therefore, the present paper will remain confined only to those letters which tells us of an important but unknown phase of Mughal Koch relation. We learn from these that the Mughal hold on Koch Bihar was not very strong, being frequently liable to be challenged ; that there were certain tracts of the country, specially those around the ' fort of Bihar ([9]) which was the stronghold of the rebellious people, which were not completely under the sway of the Mughals ; that local zamindars like Prannath ([10]) of Panjarah and Raghunath of Parganah Baharbund (eastern extremity) were unreliable, intriguing and potental enemies; that the Koch were frequently reinforced by Afghans like Sulaiman, Bahlol, Rasul etc. pouring into the country from the side of Purneah and elsewhere, showing that the Afghan menace was still a factor to be recknoned with in the beginning of the 18th century ; that the imperial court and the higher authorities were rather apathetic towards provincial appeals for help for the suppression of local disorderly elements, a feature which became so prominent in the time of the later Mughals ; that though handicapped in more than one ways, the foujdar and his naib Afraseyab did much to punish repeatedly and ultimately defeat and kill the rebel leaders, notably the nephew of Jagat Narain ([11]), the father of the Koch King, Rup Narain, and their Afghan allies ; that attempts were made to capture their stronghold and establish effective police posts at important centres ; that the circulation of the coinage of the local Rajahs and zamindars was stopped, Alamgiri coins were made current, and a mint was established in the land of the Koch, and thus a task not fulfilled by powerful and resourceful nobles like ' Mir Jumla and his successors was accomplished in 2 or 3 years by Ali Quli Khan ; and that the latter also carried out the emperor's injunctions ' regarding the enforcement of restraints and prohibition of intoxicants and in respect of the despatch to the *Huzur* of the ' auspicious footprints ([12]) of the holy prophet ' which after passing many hands had come into the possession of one, Aqil Baloch, who was detached from his allegiance with the Koch and made to surrender the ' holy ' thing. The literal translation of some of the letters given below illustrates the above and provides absolutely new materials for the renewed Mughal activities in Koch Bihar during the last days of Aurangzeb.

Letter No. 26. " .....In the beginning of the current year, in accordance with the dignified command, and in the hope of getting a grant of 80 lakhs dam by way of *Inam*, as in the case of the preceding Founders of Koch Bihar, having enlisted a suitable force, this slave of the sky—high court had appointed his agents to take possession of Bihar which is the real abode of the wicked people of this land, and with help of the eternal fortunes, the affair had been almost accomplished when, in the mean time, the noble banner being marched from the City of Jahangirnagar towards the subah of Bihar, happened to arrive in the vicinity of the Thanas of Koch Bihar which became a place for encampment. This devoted slave, having left all the officials

[9]Gurga Hati on the eastern bank of the Torsa river was named Bihar and became the official residence of the Kings of Kuch Bihar (Raj : Ch. XI—64).

[10]Raja of Dinajpur with whom the Koch Raja exchanged turbans in token of friendship (Raj, Ch. XII—67).

[11]Jagat Narain was one of 4 sons of Chatra Nazir, Mahi Narain, and C.-in-C. of Kin-Basud-van. His son, Rup Narain, reigned from 185 Raj Shaka=1101 B. E.=1616 Shakabdag =1694 A. D. to 205=1121=1636=1714.

[12]An inscription on a Kadam Rasul building at Cuttack says that it was erected by Shuja-uddin Khan in 1114/1702. But it is difficult to establish any connection between the two for we hear of many other socalled footprints. Probably , it was the superstitious Prince, Azim-us-Shan, and not the Pautan Emperor himself who attacthed any value to the king.

and subordinates in the Mahals of the Foujdari, proceeded in haste to pay his obeisance to the celestial door, and at a distance of 20 kos from Rangpur was fortunate to receive this blessing. The prince, out of his limit less favours exalted Mukrimat Khan, the son of this slave, with the foujdari of the Sarkar of Koch Bihar, in addition to the offices of Akbarnagar and Ghoraghat, and the sincere one who was then displaced was kept in attendance on the ' Huzur '. On account of the untimely removal from office (without) getting the allowance of Dams of Inam and half of the unconditional jagir, the writer was pressed with the demand of the arrear pay by the soldiery. Whatever he had was consumed by the arrears of this insistent group. For the present he is staying in the city of Masena (?) in the conspicuous presence. As during the period of 18 or 19 years of devotion, inspite of all this attention and exertions in the discharge of his duties, he did not derive any benefit except distress and distraction of mind, he has foresworn all worldly aspirations and has submitted an Arzdasht to the Imperial Court praying for permission to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. Hopes that you would excercise your influence in favour of the dastak (permit) being granted.....".

Letter No. 2.—" Lays down before the sky-high sublime court that the Arzdashts, despatched more than once, relating to the writer's dismissal from the Sarkar of Koch Bihar and his accompanying the Prince of exalted status to the subah of Bihar, must have reached the most sacred and the most honoured. At this time the Prince reinstated the humblest of the born slaves in his former post and two months have elapsed since he arrived at this place and resumed the duties of his office. For some days, on account of dismissal and reinstatement, confusion actually raged in the administration of this chakla. If God wills, it is hoped that with the help of the eternal fortune, after the expiry of the rainy season, the chastisement and suppression of the wicked, luckless fellows who had escaped last year, would be speedily effected. But it appears rather difficult to make effective conquest of, and keep permanent control over, this country without establishing police posts, specially in round the fort of Bihar which is the abode and place of refuge of the wicked infidels of this land. As the environs of the fort remain under water for a period of almost 6 or 7 months ; the complete execution of this task requires sufficient provisions, equipments, and war materials whereas this devoted born slave is not in a position to fulfil these necessities, considering that he has necessarily to maintain a scheduled number of men all the year round to warn and punish the crowd of oppressive people. If a reward of 80 lakhs Dam is granted by way of allowance, as in the case of the preceding foujdars, the conquest of Bihar and other neighbouring lands may become easy enough. If not, the sanad of Altamgha (grant of land in perpetuity) for Bihar may be granted so that after the conquest and settlement of the land whatever comes into hand therefrom may be spent on the expenses of the army and in strengthening and consolidating the position, and also in taking possession of the neighbouring lands as far as might be possible under the circumstances.....".

Letter No. 5.—" Submits that Afraseyab, the Deputy of this devoted slave, was staying in the district of Koch Bihar at the head of a suitable force, for the purpose of overthrowing and annihilating the villainous mischief makers of this place when it was learnt that these tricky, cunning fellows, having taken their abode in jungles and hills, had begun to conceive evil designs in their minds, and intended to make night assaults on the army of the slave. In the beginning of the month of *Ziqad* he fell upon the mischievous crowd. Being proud of their numerical superiority, the ill-fated miscreants dared to stand an engagement and for one *Pahar* a battle raged resulting in a number of those mean fellows being killed or wounded and a few persons on the side of the deputy of this devoted slave also suffered wounds or

deaths. Ultimately the other party lost all spirits and taking to their heels they hid themselves in inaccessible forests and hills. One elephant of the enemy was captured. At the end of this month when a number of those oppressive fellows were besieged in Pach Kal Todi, a place 7 kos this side of the fortress of Bihar, the writer sent a body of his own people for the complete suppression of these refractory people. A big battle continued to rage for night and day. The brother's son of the hellish Jagat Narain and Dharni, a notable Sardar with a large number of their fellow companions, were put to the sword and those who remained, finding the situation too hot for them, dispersed, thus giving victory to the royal slaves. In this battle some of the lieutenants of this devoted slave also lost their lives and some were wounded. At present the luckless fellows are taking shelter in different places in the neighbourhood of hills and forests but are again harbouring evil designs. The search for, and attempts at, suppression of these wretches will continue till the rainy season sets in and the humble slave will not spare himself till the last breath of his life, in pushing forward the affairs of the Imperial Sarkar. If God wills, with the help of the good fortune, all these wicked infidels will be complete by overthrown..... ".

Letter No. 19.—(Besides repeating most of the details mentioned in the above letters, the present one contains the following additional informations). " .....the veterans of our army set fire to the fortress and then proceeded in pursuit of those ill-fated ones. Whoever dared to oppose was dispatched by the sword..... Victory fell to the royal army. The warriors of Islam having cut off the heads of the infernal ones, brought them together with two pairs of drums and....which they had captured from the enemy and Afraseyab, in order to warn other seditionists had these heads built up in a tower. At present a body of these wicked people is hiding in jungles and hills and do not appear to have given up their evil designs. An account of these two engagements has been despatched to the royal court, and it is hoped, it would be laid for perusal before the miracle-working eyes, through your excellent self. In this country conflicts and battles have become the order of the day. But what can be done ? In the first place, the hugeness of their number is not hidden from anyone. Moreover, some of the zamindars like Prannath etc. constantly help the enemies by supplying or selling them grain and provisions. Not a day passes when one can feel secure from the disturbances and rebellions of these evil natured people. For example, recently a faithless Afghan, named Bahlol Khan, having gathered a large force of foot and horse soldiers, raised his head of rebellion in the districts of Boda and Pashkal which are situated within this Sarkar and is causing much mischief and harm to the subjects of this land. Owing to his excessive pride and hot-headedness, he is showing fight. If God wills, he will reap the consequences of his evil deeds and will be overthrown..... ".

Letter No. 7.—" Submits that the account of the victory achieved in the month of Ziqad has been despatched to the Court. Now the position is this : when the Naib (deputy) of this devoted slave was busy in his task of suppressing the remnants of the last year's enemies and was bent on subjugating Bihar, Bahlol Khan Afghan, brother of the hellish Sulaiman who was killed last year, came at the head of a large force along the road passing through Purneah in order to reinforce the wicked people of this place. Having taken possession of the fort of Buda, he established a blockade of our army and cut off provisions and food materials. When the devoted slave saw that the mischievous people had taken the army of Islam from both sides, he wrote to his Naib to strive first after overthrowing the malignant Afghans who were enemies within, and afterwards try to chastise the other ill-conditioned fellows of those district. As a deep river lay between and boats were scarce, just as my Naib was leading his men across it, the despised Bahlol finding it an opportunity fell upon him with his four to five hundred cavalry and one thousand matchlockmen. Ultimately it came to a battle with swords and daggers. Although the army of Islam

was small and the Afghans were comparatively superior in number, the wretched Bahlol was defeated and sent to the hell, together with a large number of his men, and the rest, having no courage to continue their stand, took to their heels. The heads of the hellish people have been sent to the *Huzur*. In this battle a considerable number under the deputy of this slave also laid down their lives and many were wounded, but victory fell to the lot of the royal army. This devoted slave sends his humble congratulation and prays etc..... ".

Letter No. 24.—" I had written to your honoured self regarding the despatch of Bahlol Afghan and most of his villainous companions to hell and about the flight of the remnants of his force and sundry other matters. It has been definitely ascertained that Prannath, the zamindar of the Sarkar of Panjara and his servant, Khandi, and others, had allowed a passage to that hellish one so that he may be able to arrive in this district with a large body of his men and take possession of the fort of Buda. After he was killed, Dalya, a leader of the seditious group and 7 other whose names are given in the accompanying sheet, having become wanderers in the deserts of adversity, intended to escape with a large amount of wealth, both in cash and in kind, through the same lands and zamindari of the said Prannath. When Khandi and other servants of Prannath saw that this group of broken-winged and down-trodden men were hurrying through like full moon, being hotly pursued by the deputy of your friend, they became anxious for their own fates and thought that if they afforded these fugitives a free passage, their secret intercourse and assistance would become apparent. Moreover, their cupidity also asserted itself and, therefore, they contrived to cajole them to remain under their protection and thus made them their virtual prisoners and took possession of their illgotten wealth and goods. The deputy of your friend, however, refrained from interference because that Mahal is attached to the Khalsa, but he has written to the said zamindar to deliver them into his hands. In case it does not happen, it is hoped that in accordance with the evidence of the vakil a *Sazawal* would be appointed by the august court with instructions that he should give delivery of those persons into the hands of certain people of your friend. He undertakes to send them to the court after making necessary enquiries and investigations of some affairs. These cursed men must get their deserts and adequate punishment for their misdeeds. If it is so ordered, these mischievous, perfidious people may be disposed of here and their heads may be sent to the Court so that this land may be freed from the stain of the existence of such execrated fomentors of disturbances. It will also serve as a warning to other refractory people. As the said Prannath is always in the habit of giving refuge to such wretched people in his zamindari, and they being encouraged with his assistance, commit ravages, strict orders may be issued from the Court that henceforth he should, on no account, render any assistance to such wicked, villainous fellows and abstain from giving even a single person of that group any shelter in his zamindari..... ".

Letter No. 65.—" Submits that the Parwanah which was issued relating to the defiance of the wicked Prannath and the attempts of your subordinates to chastise him and also containing a summons to Abu Talib Beg Bukshi with a suitable force, duly reached here and the contents thereof have been conveyed to the Qibla Nawab Saheb. My lord and kind friend ! Whatever has occurred to your mind may be advisable and proper. As the said zamindar has become notorious for his cunning intrigues and wickedness and being proud of his large force and equipments of war contemplates hostilities, if this plan is given effect to, it would, in the estimation of this slave of the lord, produce much good. But to give the details in the present submissions is likely to breed mischief, for if it is reduced to writing, it is sure to become public, thereby frustrating the real object. The matter is quite simple, for in the event of the wicked one being enaged in battle the work of collections may be delayed

and even prevented. At any rate, whatever your difficulty-solving mind has conceived may turn out for the better and must have been already considered as the best thing to be done. The Bukshi of the sarkar has been ill for the last 4 months and this devoted slave is shortly leaving for the subjugation of Bihar. As the thana of Buda falls within the zamindari mahals of this refractory one, information may be sent at the time when a march towards that side is begun so that the writer may proceed there to perform his obeisance and also to exert his utmost in doing all that is deemed necessary. If God wills, with your good fortune, the villainous one would receive chastisement for his misdeeds and will be overthrown..... ".

Letter No. 20.—" It is learnt that you, refuge of the sincere ones, being granted leave by the Huzur (Emperor) have proceeded to regulate and administer the affairs of the subah of Orissa and have arrived safely at Mukhsudabad..... Before this a detailed account was sent to your honoured self and also submitted to the repository of the state relating to the displacement of the rejected coins of the zamindars of this Sarkar and arrangement for the currency of the sacred Alamgiri Coinage, and also to the measure adopted for subjugating Bihar which is the real abode and habitation of the wicked infidels. It also contained a request for reinforcement, or in the alternative, for grant of an allowance of 80 lakhs dam by way of *Inam*, in accordance with the precedents of the preceding foujdars and also a prayer for 55 lakhs dam as sanctioned by the Sanad of the imperial court : lastly it referred to the despatch of the auspicious footprints of the holy Prophet. In the meanwhile you, my kind friend, happened to arrrive in that district and the accomplishment of these affairs was delayed and prevented. As the vakil, too, is not present at Jahangirnagar (Dacca), it does not appear that the reperesentations of your friend were submitted or not : the affairs of this well-wisher are not hidden from your illuminating mind. After much expectation and waiting the sanad for the 55 lakhs dam arrived two years ago but the account shows that 45 lakhs dam are still due from the Sarkar. The writer is in great distress owing to the insistent demands in the Jagir of Chakla Ghoraghat and because of the heavy expenditure, accounts of which have been so often submitted. If by your kind attention and favours, the writer gets his allowances allotted to the Mahals of Bengal, he may be able to free himself somewhat of his debts. It is hoped that you will kindly write whatever you consider needful about the settlement of this affair, specially concerning the allowances and jagirs of this well-wisher of the people, so that he may not have to take the obligation of any other person..... ".

Letter No. 10.—" Submits that the circumstances of the insolence of the power-seeking seditious people of this land and the efforts and exertions which the previous officials holding greater Mansabs and possessed of so much equipments and artillery had been putting in for the overthrow of the body of this luckless fellows ever since the beginning of accession are evident to all the servants of the sublime court. As regards this devoted born slave, whatever has been done during the period of 2 or 3 years in regulating the affairs of this sarkar and warning and chastising the villainous, mischievous people, has been submitted in the past and is being conveyed by the news writers of the Court. This year, in compliance with the dignified command, relating to the subjugation of Bihar, the deputy of this slave, after much hardships and effort, arrived near Bihar. There was very little left for effecting complete conquest but the rains set in and there was a lack of adequate force, provisions, foodstuff and equipments of war and as it appeared inadvisable to establish police posts there at this time, so he was compelled to return. As the abode and habitation of real zamindars of this sarkar is Bihar and till thanas are established effective subjugation of the place is not possible, and as this devoted slave is in distressed condition because he has to keep a force much beyond his capacity and authority—

and the demand for arrear pay of the soldiery is ever on the increase, it is prayed that a body of 500 cavalry and the same number of foot soldiers be sanctioned from the court or 80 lakhs dam be granted by way of Inam, as in the case of the preceding foujdars. As the Sarkar of Koch Bihar is practically ruined and devastated because the refractory people have been passing and repassing through it, and have made it a scene of ravages and disturbances, so the dam and allowances prayed for may be assigned not to this sarkar but to the Mahals of Bengal. If God wills, next year, having enlisted a considerable force and arranged for strengthening the police posts, punishment would be meted out to those who had escaped slaughter, and Bihar would be brought under complete control of the royal army. As regards the affair of putting a complete stop to the currency and the coinage of the local zamindars, submissions have already been made by this devoted slave. He hopes that by the grace of God, within a short time, the holy Alamgiri coinage would be made current all over the land and no trace would be left of the coins of the infernal ones."

Letter No. 29.—" Your noble letter, written in accordance with the sublime commends saying that the circulation of the holy Alamgiri coinage has been appreciated and that the despatching of a force of cavalry and foot soldiers is at present difficult and that if a written agreement regarding a fixed period is given 80 lakhs dam by way of Inam would be assigned as Tankwah, is to hand. In accordance with the sublime command the mint has already been started and no stone is being left unturned in giving currency to the excellent coinage. If God wills, within a short time no trace would be left of the condemned coins of the zamindars of this land and they would be completely replaced by the holy Alamgiri Coins. As directed, the bond fixing the period during which the whole of Bihar would be finally subjugated has already been despatched and now it is hoped that the draft of the said dam would be assigned to the Mahals of Bengal so that being freed from the anxiety of meeting the expenses of the soldiery and other equipments of war the writer might engage himself in executing this task. In haste one, Khudādād Khan, has been sent at the head of 400 horse and 700 foot towards Bihar in order to purge the road of its numerous forests and thorny intermingled trees. Immediately following him Afraseyab Beg is going to be sent at the head of a suitable force and the writer himself, as a precautionary measure against certain eventualities, will keep himself ready to back up and reinforce the main army so that the whole land of Koch Bihar may come into the possession of His Imperial Majesty and thanas and police posts may be established throughout the country. The bond contains an engagement to finish the business in two seasons because in restoring order and regulating the affairs of the land one has to face 6 or 7 months of intermittant heavy rainfall and the time of opulence is only 4 or 5 months of winter. If the whole land had not been subject to floods, there would have been no mention in the bond of two seasons. And the bond itself is a precaution suggested by the ruler's regulation, otherwise no slave would be ungrateful enough to spare himself in the least in executing the affiars of his lord and discharging the duties of his devotedness and allegiance in which alone lies the good of his life ond property. As in preceding times, whenever expeditions were led against the seditious people of this land, written orders used to be issued for the supply of grain from the subah of Bengal to the foujdar, Karories and zamindars of chakla Ghoraghat and Parganahs of Baharbund and Bhiterbund, therefore, in accordance with the submissions of the writer's vakil, the *Sazawals* may be ordered so that the men of the army should not get into trouble on account of lack of food, and the storing of grains might take place for it is the best means for the success of the thanadaris."

Letter No. 31.—[This pretty long letter repeats much of what is given in the preceding ones regrading the substitution of Alamgiri Coins, the efforts put in, and

the difficulties met with, in subjugating Bihar and establishing police posts, and the prayers for reinforcement and grant for assignments on mahals of Bengal. The writer takes credit for accomplishing a task within the short space of 2 or 3 years which had not been achieved by Khan Khanan Muazzan Khan (Mir Jumla) and other dignified and resourceful Khans and nobles in the past. The only new information available is in the reference to possibly a third attempt at the subjugation of Bihar and the difficulties created by the flood and by another Afghan, named Rasul, as is evident from the translation of the relevant portion given below]. "..... This year with a view to carrying out the duties of obedience and allegiance in respect of the command for the subjugation of Bihar, your friend, after a good deal of difficulty and efforts, had arrived near Bihar and there was hardly left anything in completing the task when at that very time the faithless Rasul Afghan, having gathered a large force of horse and foot soldiers rushed to Chakla Buda in the sarkar of Panjarah and began to commit his ravages. Naturally attention was diverted towards repelling him but till the affiars could be finally disposed of heavy downpours began ..... ".

Letter No. 4.—" Submits that two years before this, in accordance with the sublime command, orders had been issued to this devoted one, under the seal of Lashkar Khan, deceased, relating to the despatch of the auspicious footprints of the holy Prophet. These had at first been with one Ali Mewati, after whose death it passed into the possession of Sulaiman Afghan. When this wretch also went to the hell, the auspicious footprints fell into the hands of Aqil Baloch. However much a search was made for that at that time, they co ıld not be found. At this time, however, when the lowliest of the born slaves established strong police posts in every place and stationed considerable force in every nook and corner which stopped all ingress and egress and cut off provisions and supply of foodstuffs to those who had escaped slaughter and had taken refuge in valleys and hills, harassing and harming God's creatures whenever opportunities offered themselves, Aqil who had joined hands with those fellows, found himself unable to continue his stay with that luckless group and began to entreat for a promise and agreement. With a view to creating division and separating the above-mentioned Aqil from his companions, a compact was entered into with him. He was sent for and the auspicious footmarks, being taken away from him, were sent to the Huzur..... ".

Letter No. 25.—" An account of Aqil Baloch who had joined hands with the wicked people of Koch Bihar had been submitted more than once to the repository of the state. As he continued with the villainous group and was committing ravages from his hiding places in forests and hills and esteemed orders had been repeatedly received for the overthrow of these refractory people, this humble slave of the sky high court set up strong police pickets and force in all places and by cutting off provision from these professional rebels reduced them to great straits. The ill-fated Aqil on realizing his position and having despaired of his life entreated for pardon and prayed for words of honour "..... (The rest about the result and the history of the footprints as in the letter translated above).

Letter No. 64.—" Your letter, written agreeably to the dignified command relating to the despatch of the money and goods of Aqil Baloch, is to hand. The facts about Aqil are no longer hidden. For some years he had been an ally of the infidels constantly fighting with them against the army of Islam. But this year when he saw that nothing was left in completing the subjugation of Bihar, he feared the loss of his own life by keeping up with the wicked infidels and entreated for an agreement. As regards his coming here and being presented to the Huzur in accordance with the dignified command, it is known to all. Now that Aqil gives out such things, being instigated by Kabir, who year before last, having under taken to detach him from

his alliance with the infidels, had come and stayed here for a long time and after taking an amount of money from me spent it but could effect nothing, it is of no consequence. Truth will not remain hidden under falsehood. Let him mark out the person and prove that he has taken the money and goods so that they may be realised. His brothers who had been carefully looked after for a period of 5 or 6 months under the impression that they might be of use, at the time of anxious considerations for the conquest of Bihar, and were supplied with amounts of money, are being sent, as directed, to the Huzur. I hope that these matters would be laid before the Huzur.....".

Letter No. 18.—" The letter you wrote, agreeably to order, regarding the prohibition of intoxicants, derived from the juice of the palm and date trees and the despatch of bond concerning its non-usage, is to hand. Last year also the royal command concerning this affair had been communicated by you and a reply had been sent by me, your friend, that except in Parganah Kondi which falls within the Tiyul of the sarkar, these and other kinds of intoxicants are nowhere in use. Your friend has little hand in that locality—for nobody there is in a mood to listen to any one. It had been suggested that a person should be specially appointed to this task so that he may prevent people from committing this offence but it was not accepted. However, as regards other mahals due care is being taken to carry out the imperial command. But so long as the practice of taking unlawful spirits is not eradicated from the said Parganah, the prohibitive measure in the adjoining lands would not be sufficiently effective. As the bond asked for relates to the affair of palm and date juice and these are not found in the Mahals attached to your friend, he is ready to submit ten, instead of one bond, couched in terms as may be suggested."

ABBREVIATIONS.

T. S. Ch.=Tazkua-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtaia by Kamwar Khan (Kujhwa Ms.).
M. A.=Maasir-i-Alamgiri by Mustaid Md. Saqi (Kujhwa Ms.).
M. U.=Maasir-ul-Umra—Printed.
M. R. A.=Mugaddume-i-Ruqqalt-i-Alamgir by Najib Ashraf (Urdu-Printed).
S. K.=Safina-i-Khusgo by Lala Brindaban Das, Khusgo (O. P. L.).
T. N. I.=Taz kira-i-Nashtar-i-Ishq by Lala Brindaban Das, Khusgo (O. P. L.).
K. K.=Muntakhab-ul-Wahab by Khafi Khan (Printed).
R. or Raj=Rajopakhyan by Sj. Jadunath Ghosh.

A SANAD

of Captain James Browne, Military Collector of Zilla Jungle Tarai.

1776 A. D.

(By Mr. Makhanlal Roy Choudhury, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., Shastri.)

نقل سند کپتان جیمس براؤن سردار

از طرف کمپنی.....

متصدیان مہمات حال و استقبال چودھریان و قانون گویان و زمینداران و گھٹوالان پرگنہ ڈارہ سکھوارہ ضلع جنگل ترائي متعلقہ کھرگپور سرکار مونگیر مضاف صوبہ بہار بدانند !

چوں ابتدا ۱۱۷۳ فصلي تعلقہ کھوارہ پرگنہ مذکور بجمیع مبلغ دو صد چہل و پنج روپیہ دوازدہ آنہ پانزدہ گنڈہ (تقرر یافت) اجمال و جہات و سائر و جہات و کل حبوب بالمقطعہ و ھمہ و جہات سوائے رسوم زمینداري و مالکانہ و چودھریانہ و قانون گویانہ و اخراجات زمین خیرات' بر' سوتر' شیوتر' و بشنو پرت و انکہ املاک جاگیرداران و برق اندازان و دھران و مہوان وغیرہ بلاقات بلا سخن بنام راگھو سنگھہ و بھیرو سنگھہ گھٹوالان تعلقہ مذکور و صیغہ مقرري استمراري اجمال حسب الضمن مقرر و مشخص نمودہ شد -

باید کہ خاطر جمع تردد و اباد نمودہ اجمال واجب سرکار موافق تھولیت سال بسال فصل بفصل داخل خزانہ سرکار نمودہ باشد - چنانچہ بکار افزوں ابادي تعلقہ مذکورہ روز بروز گردد وھم تردد و ھم ابادي زمہ خود شناشد - ورعیان از حسن سلوک خود راضي و شاکر دارد تا احدے از مدعیان دعوي نماید و زور طلبي نہ رساند جہہ جاگیرداران و برق اندازان و غیرہ سوائے مالگزاري مقررہ نہ نماید نگہدارد و نگہباني رعیان حدود خود و دیہات تعلقہ مذکور مفید گرداند -

وقتیکہ طلب چاکران از حضور شود برابدمع جمیعت بحضور حاضر گردد - اگر احیاناً در سرحد متعلقہ خون و فساد ڈاکہ و دزدي و رھزني و غیرہ بہ ظہور رسد و خیال بہ ظہور آید یا کسے از مصلحت دھد یا خود پردازد و معاملہ سرکار بحال روے دھد از روے تحقیق سزا واقع رسد از احدے جواب دھي خواھد شد و از بنیاد خود پیروں خواھد شد - و باز در بنیاد دخل نہ خواھد یافت - احکام عملہ زمینداران تعلقہ مذکور جمع مقرري استمراري دریں باب تاکید داشتہ حسب المسطور بعمل آرند -

تحریر تاریخ بست و پنجم شوال سنہ ۱۷ مطابق ھفتم ماہ پوس بنگلہ ۱۱۸۳ فصلي -

Translation of Captain Brown's Sanad.

' Amlanāma to Rungu Singh and Bhairo Singh '

(Seal of Captain James Sirdar of Jungletāri, on behalf of Company, of Kundoir, Khurruckpur, Bhagālpur, Kahalgaon, Birbhoōm and Khargdiha).

JAMES BROWN,
E. I. C.

Know ye the Motasaddians, Mahimat present and future, the Chaudharys, Qanūngos, Zamindārs and Ghātwāls of Pargana Dānda Sakhwarā, Zillā Jungletārī appertaining to Khāragpur in Sarkar Monghyr within the Province of Behar.

Whereas from the commencement of the year 1184 Fasli, Taluqa Kakwarā in the said Pargana has been granted as a Mokarrāri Istimrāri at a sum of Rs. 245/12/15 Gandas of the Sonat current coin Ej (comprised of) Māl Wajhāt and Sair Wājhāt with all Habūbs in one consolidated sum as agreed upon, except the Zamindāri rasum and Malkanā and fees of Chaudhurys and Qanūngos and the expenses of the Pargana, and Aima Imlak of the Jāgīrdārs Barqandāzes Dhuharan and Mahwan, etc., without any trouble and objection, in the name of Rangu Singh and Bhairo Singh Ghātwāls of the aforesaid Taluqa, *Ej Mal hasbul ziman moqarar o moshakhkhas namuda* (with revenue fixed and assessed according to schedule). It is requisite that they should peacefully cultivate and populate and pay into the treasury of the Government (Eotākhānā Sarkar) Revenue wājib Sarkar (payable to the Government) according to the Qabulīyāt year by year, crop after crop. They (Ghātwāls) should so try that the taluqa may become more fruitful every day. They will consider themselves responsible for the deficiency of cultivation. They should by their good treatment keep the tenant satisfied and pleased so that no body shows wickedness and disobedience. They should not demand from the Jāgīrdārs, Barqandāzes, etc., anything more than the Mālguzāri (rent) which has been fixed. They should watch the tenants within their limit and the limits of the village within the said Taluqa. When the said Jāgīrdārs are summoned by the Huzoōr, they will forthwith attend the Huzoōr with their body of men. If within their limits murderers, affrays, dacoity, theft, highway robbery and other crimes be discovered in any place or should any one give bad advice or keep in collusion with himself or cause any injury to the interest of the Government they shall be responsible and shall, upon enquiry and decision be vested with proper punishment and will be dismissed from the Bunuyād (elāqa) and shall not get back their place.

The authorities, ministerial officers and Zāmīndārs of the aforesaid Taluqa, shall uphold the Moqarrāri and Istimrārī Jama (Sum) of the said Pargana and receive the Jama year by year and shall not demand a fraction more. They shall be careful of this and as above indicated.

Dated the 25th Shawal in the year 17, corresponding with the 7th Paus 1193.

TRANSLATION OF RĀJĀ QĀDIR'ALI'S SANAD.

(Copies given to court and the opposite parties on 22nd June 1940).

Circle of the seal of Shāh'Alam Badshāh Ghāzi Fidwi Rājā Qādir'Ali.

Copy is according to original.

(1193).

Know ye Motasaddiān, Mohīmat present and future and Gumashtas, officers —Choudharys and Qanoongos—Pargana Dānda Sakhwarā appertaining to Mahalat Kharrugpur Sarcar Monghyr of the Province of Behar.

Whereas service Ghātwāli of Taluqa Kakwarā mamule (usual) within Pargana aforesaid on condition of fidelity and well-wishing of Sarkar (the Government) according to the Sanad granted to Bhairo Singh and Rungu Singh along with one hundred seventy-two (nafar) persons. Barqandazes and Tirandazan with Sirdarān is existing (mokarast). Hence from the commencement of the eighth month, the kharif crop of the year 1189 Fasli Rājwarā corresponding with 1188 Fasli Mughulānā, being continued and confirmed to old custom, it has been fixed and given per Schedule.

It is requisite that according to duty and custom acting with honesty and exactitude and by good treatment the tenants should be kept contented and satisfied, and Ghats and Chowkīes should be watched and looked after with due diligence and vigilence so that thieves and Shabkhūniān (murderers attacking unaware at night) may not remain near them (Ghāts and Chowkīs) or in their neighbourhood.

Heaven forbid if there be any and if anybody's property is stolen or plundered and cattle stolen they (Ghātwāls) will be punishable. They should arrest the thieves and night-murderers with property intact and make over the properties to the owner and produce the offenders before the Hazoōr and prove the murder. If they fail to seize the thieves and prove the guilt of the murderers and the cattle stealer they must consider the responsibility to themselves. And they should pay the *Wājāh shar'i* due to Government (Sarkar) as usual (Mowāfiq maāmul).

When they will be summoned they shall, all gathering in a body, appear before the Huzoōr.

It is requisite that you do consider the abovenamed persons the permanent Ghātwāls of this place and accept them to be in possession, and you should give them good advice so that it may be the means of advantage to Government and benefit to the tenant. You shall not go against this and treating it as urgent act according to what has been written above.

Dated the 17th Moharram ul Harām of the year 22 corresponding with year 1194 Hijri.

Schedule.

Ghātwāli service of Taluqa Kakwarā, Pargana Dānda Sakhwarā on the condition of fidelity and loyalty to the Government in the name of Rungu Singh and Bhairo Singh with 172 Burkundazes and archers with Sardārs, as existing from before, has been fixed and given from the beginning of the kharif crop of the year 1180 Fasli Rajwārā, corresponding with 1188 Mughulana.

Copied in the Office of the Presence 1194 H. S.

Received in the Copying Office on the 10th Moharram 1194 Hijri.

Copied in the Office of the Presence on the 12th Moharram 1194 Hijri.

Pursuant to an order of 28th December 1874, it was made over on the 27th February 1875 to Kali Prosad, generals moktar of Thakur Munranjan Singh without keeping a copy.

Himmat Sahay,

Naīb Mohāfiz of the Collectorate of Bhāgalpur.

Filed on the 18th March 1875 by Mr. Joseph Dacosta, pleader for the defendant n suit No. 7 of 1875.

The wild tract of jungle Tarāi as the name suggests is a vast expanse of land below and along a mountain pass called the Rājmahal hill tracts. This area under investigation included lands situated in the south of the modern districts of Monghyr, Bhāgalpur, Hāzāribāg and Birbhūm running up to the Ganges through the Sakrigali Pass near the Sāhībganj Hill station (E. I. Ry.)(1). The area was strategically important because any body who desired to visit Bengal from Northern India must have to cross the Passes of the jungle Tarai tract. The people of this tract of land were fierce and were never completely subdued by the Mughal Emperors. The area was settled by the Mughal Emperors on a peculiar basis of rent and service on conditions similar to those that existed in England in the early medieval age. Those tenures were called the Ghātwāli tenures [tenures for the protection of Ghāts(2) and Passes and the holders of the tenures were called Ghātwāls or the keeper of the Pass like the Wardens of Marches on the Scottish frontiers during the reign of William the Conqueror (3)]. The Ghātwāls appear in history during the Mughal period ; it is said that Akbar was the first to grant a Ghātwāli tenure to a local Chief named Nat Pahāri in..Tappa Manihāri in Godda subdivision of Santhāl parganas ; Mān singh granted to his son, Rupkarān, some jungle districts like Mudghoom and Jumne as Mansab Jagir in addition to Ghātwāli of Manihārī (4). But there is no doubt that besides the Shāhi Ghātwāls (5), there were Zamindārī Ghatwals and under both the classes there might be Shikmī Ghātwāls (5). The Ghātwāli tenures that were settled in the Jungle Tarāi Tract lay within the ambit of the Zamindāri of Khāragpur (Khārakpur) Rāj now in the district of Monghyr.

The situation of the Jungle Tarāi Tract stood thus during this period : (1761-62 to 1780-81) :—

(1) The highest lord was the Mughal Emperor, Shāh'Alam in whose name official transactions were made.

(2) Immediate over lord was the Nawāb of Bengal under whose jurisdiction the property was situated.

(3) The East India Company was the Dewān of the territory with its supervisor, Mr. Harwood at Rāj Mahal(6) was succeeded by Mr. Barton and Mr. Cleveland having their headquarters at Bhāgalpur.

Indeed there was a vacancy in the traditional proprietorship of the land from the date of the deposition of Rājā Muzzaffar Ali till the Rāj of Khāragpur was restored to his grandson Raja Qadir 'Ali by Mr. Cleveland, then civil collector of Bhagalpur in 1780 and later on confirmed by Warren Hastings by a Sanad in April, 1781. There are records of local rebellions against the authorities such as the insurrections of Lachmipur Ghātwāl within the district of Jungle Tarāi on the representation of Mr. Harwood supervisor at Rājmahal, the council at Calcutta under advice of Brigadier'General Barker, decided to appoint a class of military officers for the district of Jungle Tarāi. As the title of the office suggested, the officer had a military rank appointed for restoration of peace and order and settlement of land. Already the district of Bhāgalpur had a supervisor from 1770 A.D. (civil collector

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1 Rennell's map in the final report on the survey and settlement of Santhal Parganas by Macpherson.

2 Ghat—Pass ; Ghatwal—A holder of ghat or pass.

3 Stubb's constitutional History of England I, p. 168-70.

4 Bengal past and present, Vol. xliii, No. 85-6, p. 113-114.

5 Shahi—Royal ; Zamindar belonging to tenant in chief. Shikmi literally means 'belly'. Shikmi Ghatwal was one for whom the chief Ghatwal paid the rent. But there was no oath of Salisbury in the Mughal Empire.

6 The Kharagpur Raj was there also.

since 1772 A.D.); but he could not cope with the lawless situation of the district under investigation. A military officer was necessary. The military collector had the privilege of communication with the Governor General where as the civil collector had to deal with the Revenue Council in the matters of revenue. Robert Brooke was the first military Collector appointed on the 17th of February, 1773. It may be concluded that he left his post some time before November 3, 1774 because in the Council proceedings at Calcutta there is reference to the departure of Captain Brooke for Fyzābād to join Rohilla war.(7)

Captain James Browne took up his task with all earnestness of a soldier and refused the territory to submission. He followed a cautious policy and made settlements generally with the local chieftains as far as possible. The spirit of Double Government as initiated by Clive was not forgotten. He invoked the names of the Emperor Shāh'Alam in many of the documents relating to the Settlements. One title of the Sanads of the said Captain is reproduced below. (8)

> " Captain James Browne, Nāsir-ud-Dowla, Nāsir-ul-Mulk Salābat Jung, Fidw Pādshah Shāh'Alam Ghāzi."

The allegiance to the Mughal Emperors was sworn even as late as 1794 by the E. I. Company as in the case of the Hāndwe Ghātwāli Parwāna (9) some times the regnal year of the reigning Mughal Emperor was mentioned. (10)

The Record No. I under our investigation is an 'Amalnāma which was granted by Captain James Browne the Sardar of Jungle Tarai to the Ghātwāls of Bhairo Singh and Rangu Singh of Kakwarā in 1184 Fasli year for which a Kabuliyat was taken.

The Record No. II is a sanad which was granted by Rājā Qādir'Ali, the grandson of Rājā Muzāffar'Ali, who was restored to the Rāj in 1780 A.D. by Cleveland (11) the Civil Collector of Bhāgalpur though the Parwāna of restoration was issued a year after Warren Hastings.

The points of investigation are the following :—

(*a*) What was the status of Captain Browne when he granted the 'Amalnāma to Ghātwāls of Kakwarā ?

(*b*) What was the scope of rights created by 'Amalnama of Captain Brown and by the Sanad of Raja Qadir'Ali ?

(*c*) What was the status of Raja Qadir'Ali when he confirmed the Ghatwali tenure by his Sanad expressly referring to an earlier Sanad ?

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7 Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Paper preserved in the foreign Department of Government of India, 1772-85. Edited by George Forrest, dated 17th February, 1773.

8 *Vide* Chakai sanad, Patna High Court judgment. Original order No. 285, dated 1930 decided on June 23, 1934.

9 Parwana by Mr. Dickinson, collector of Bhagalpur, 27th January 1794. Purandar Singh Ghatwal of Handwe.

10 E. I. Co.'s sanad to Handwe Ghatwal dated 11th September 1776 and E. I. Company's Sanad to Kakwara Ghatwals, dated 17th September 1777 both granted by James Browne.

11 Mr. Cleveland was a nephew of Sir John Shore. Various legends have gathered round the interesting personality of Mr. Cleveland. He was very popular figure amongst the natives and was known as " Chilmili Sahib " in Damankoh ; Macpherson's Final Report of Survey and Settlement of Santal Pargana. He had a palacial residence at Bhagalpur known as the Cleveland house or Tilla Kotti on a road named after him ; and he died there, his last remaining being in the front of the Cleveland Road.

Captain James Browne was a military officer with a revenue jurisdiction for settlement of lands. His primary duty was to subdue the refractory and restore order. Settlement of lands was made with the old tenure holders as far as possible. Even a settlement was made with the Ghātwāl of Lachmipur who had repeatedly defied the civil and military authorities and led rebellions against them. (12) This settlement with an erstwhile rebel and a former Ghātwāl indicates that the old ghatwals were retained in their possessions with their rights and privileges intact and the Sanads or 'Amalnāmas granted by him to the respective ghatwals were mere confirmations of existing ghatwals tenures held under the Government.

Captain James Browne's documents have been found to be issued sometimes mention of the Mughal Emperors and sometimes without it. Legally the E. I. Company was the Dewan of the Mughal Government at Delhi and they could not create any more rights than they had under the grant of Shāh 'Alam in 1765 A.D. But in fact lack of governance placed the E. I. Company in the position of the *de facto* rulers ; the ultimate assumption of the central authority by E. I. Company was a sanction to what was done by them as Dewān within their rights and beyond. Actuated by the spirit of Clive's policy of non-disturbance of the machinery of the existing administration, Captain James Browne invoked the name of the Delhi authorities in his documents. (13) The same principle was followed in other documents of the period. Dickinson issued Sanad to the Ghātwāl Hāndwe under the seal of the Mughal Emperor even as late as 1794. A comparison may be made between the Zamindāri Sanad of the E. I. Company with that of the great Mughals.(14).

The Record No. II was a confirmatory sanad dated 1194 Hijri year (?) in the 22nd regnal year of His Majesty the Emperor Shāh 'Alam. A custom of confirmation of previous document by a subsequent Sanad prevailed in the Mughal Empire. Rājā Qādir 'Ali's Sanad to the Ghātwāl of Taluq Kakwarā contained the same area, the same rent not a pie more or not a pie less ; the terms were almost the same as before with this difference that in Captain Browne's Sanad the services were not expressly mentioned as military or semi-military but were general, whereas in the Rājā Qādir 'Ali's confirmatory Sanad they were specifically mentioned as semi-military. The grant stated that the services imposed on the Ghātwāli were usual within the Pargana on condition of fidelity to the Government being continued and confirmed according to the old custom, further the ghats and chawkis should be watched ; and looked after with due dilligence and vigilance..... (15) The terms are definite. What was the status of the Khāragpur Raj when Rājā 'Qādir 'Ali granted the sanad ? Was he acting on his behalf as a Mānsabdar or on behalf of the E. I. Company who had restored him or on behalf of the Delhi Emperor under whom lay his Rāj. There is no doubt that the rulers of Khāragpur were Mansabdārs who had fought in Kābul and Qandahār at the time of Shāh Jahān and

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12 Captain James Browne, Indian Tracts. Indian Tract is a rare book ; (one copy exists in the Imperial Library at Calcutta). In his India Tract, he refers himself as an ' English Minister ' at the court of Badshah Shah 'Alam. Captain James Browne was a man of strong practical sense. He was a good scholar and translated a Persian mss. on ' the History of Sikhs '.

13 Cowell, History of the Constitution of Courts in British India, p. 30.

14 Dickinson's Sanad to Hāndiwe in 1794 ; for a specimen of the Mughal Fārman to a Zamindar. See A. Philip's Land Tenure in lower Bengal, Tagore law lectures, 1676. Appendix.

15 Old people of Rajmahal and Murshidabad complained that the British took away the Pattas and Kabuliyats that had been granted by the Mughals when new settlements were made ; and they destroyed them. Thus a very valuable source of revenue history of the Mughals has been lost. Bari, " Company ki Hukumat Hindustan me ", Lahore.

Aurangzēb ; their official status was subordinate to the Sūbehdār of Bengal.(16). Rājā Muzaffar 'Ali was dismissed in 1761-62 by the Governor of Bengal, Nawāb Qāsim 'Ali. He was restored by a Parwanā of the Council of Calcutta under Waren Hastings in 1781 A.D. though his actual reinstatement dates a year before. The military collectorship of Jungle Tarāi ends in 1778-9 and it was joined to the civil collectorate of Bhagalpur under Mr. Cleveland. Mr. Cleveland perceived that Captain Browne had done too much havoc with the people and property of the Jungle Tarai and still the country was far from being subdued. So he gave up the policy of repression-*cum*-conciliation of Captain Browne and sincerely followed a policy of conciliation. Mr. Cleveland restored the Khāragpur Rāj to their position in 1780 and the Raja renewed many of the existing ghātwāl tenures and probably made many new settlements of such tenures. (17) Hence we find a large number of such settlements made by Khāragpur Raj(18). Legally speaking the status of Raja Qadir 'Ali was a little knotty. Deposition of Kharagpur was done by Nawāb of Bengal in 1761-62 and restoration was done by E. I. Company Dewān of Bengal in 1780-01. It may be argued that the E. I. Company could restore him only the Zamindāri position of the Rāj and not invest him with the political rights inherent in their Mansab. Was the Zamindāri of Khāragpur after 1780 a succession-in-interest to the Mughals or a mere non-political Zamindāri of the British type ? There was no denying that the Imperial seal was affixed and allegiance was sworn to the Emperor of Delhi, sometimes the Regnal year of Shāh 'Alam, the reigning Emperor of Delhi was mentioned. Was the mention of the Regnal year significant ? Was it mentioned by Rājā Qādir 'Ali as a mere family custom ? But Captain Browne's sanad too sometimes mentioned the Regnal year (19). and he had no family custom to follow, no family allegiance to swear by the use of the words Fidwi Shāh 'Alam. The sanads stated in some cases that copies of documents were kept in Hazoōr (superior court). The despatch of copies of important document was an administrative rule in Mughal India (20). It proves that the link between the Central Government and the subordinate Government in the provinces were still maintained, at least in form. The Mughal Zamindār was not a mere intermediary for revenue purposes, as he is to-day, but he was something more in Mughal days. He was an officer too (21). He could act on his behalf and use the Government seal. Rights created by the Zamindār under the royal seal with Regnal year were generally accepted as Royal grants. Moreover the sanad of Qādir 'Ali addressed the Qanūngos too ; Qanūngos were officers superior to ordinary Zamindārs. Rājā Qādir 'Ali addressing the Qanūngos assumed a superior position to those of the Government

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16 In 1755 when Raja Muzaffar 'Ali revolted, he sought the help of Lachman Deo of Lachmpur Raj ; the latter replied proudly that " Lachman Deo is a servant of Subah ; if Muzaffar Ali forgets his duty, it is no reason for him to follow ". Captain James Browne, India Tract, referred to in Justice Fazl-i-Ali's judgment. I. L. R. 14 Patna, p. 70.

17 During the period of his Civil Collectorship, he granted no less than 87,084 bighas of land in this and the adjoining tracts upon Ghatwali tenures in conformity with the orders of Government.

18 The situation forced the British to reinstate Qadir 'Ali of Khāragpur in 1780 and Rupnārain Deo of Lachmipur in 1784. Cleveland found it useful to have the things done by and through the local Ghatwals. Similar views were also held by Captain Browne when he was dealing with Bhairo Singh and Raghu Singh of Kakwara Taluq. Murphy, Settlement Report of Bhagalpur. (1902-11), p. 15.

19 Browne's Patta to Handwe Ghatwal bears the mention of regnal year ; also Browne's Kakwara 'Amalnama bear 17th year.

20 Wahed Hossain, Administration of Justice in Mughal India Chapter 3.

21 Moreland, India at the death of Akbar, p. 3.

officers. His official status was therefore above the Qanūngos. The grant of Rājā Qādir 'Ali to all intents and purposes preserved the formalities of an imperial transaction.(22)

What was the scope of rights created by the 'Amalnāma of Browne and the Sanad of Rājā Qādir 'Ali ? The scope of rights has to be determined by the status of the man who granted these documents. It is true that one could not delegate or confer more powers than he himself possessed. But it is also equally true that ultimate assumption of a higher status might legalise an otherwise illegal act of an earlier authority. Such was the position of the rights created by the aforesaid 'Amalnāma and by the confirmatory Sanad of Rājā Qadir 'Ali and subsequently never disturbed by the settlement of Cornwallis.[23] The British acting under the shadow of the Mughal Emperors ' in allegiance to the Emperor Shah 'Alam ' at first created rights within their rights and then beyond their rights. But subsequent assumption of higher authority in the state automatically ratified what was done in 1776 by Captain James Browne, the military collector of jungle Tarāi, subsequently confirmed by Maharājā Qādir 'Ali and finally included by E. I. Company in the celebrated permanent settlement without any change in the assessment already made by Captain Browne.

Now what was the nature of the tenure granted to the taluq Kakwara ? It was a Ghātwāli tenure for which the term feudal lord is not the exact synonym. The tenure was granted by the Central Government or its local representative on behalf of the Government. A ghātwāli created by the Central Government had a higher status being created by the royal fārman. A Ghātwāli might be created by the Zamindār, even by a superior Ghātwāl within his own rights for discharge his own duties and obligations. A Zamindār might create a ghātwāli for some specified purpose. Lands might be given to a subordinate in lieu of wages—it was a " Chākrān " (right of servant). The Sanad of Rājā Qādir 'Ali to taluq Kakwarā gives some interesting terms which threw important lights on local police administration. The Ghātwāl was told that " the ghāts and chawkis should be watched and looked after with due dilligence and vigilance so that thieves and murderers may not remain near them. If any body's property is stolen or plundered and cattle stolen, they (ghātwāls) will be punishable. They should arrest the thieves and might murder with property intact and make over the properties to the owner and produce the offender to the Hazoor (superior authority) and prove the murder. If they fail to seize the thieves and prove the guilt of murderers and the cattle stealers they must consider the responsibility of themselves. To perform this service the Ghātwāls of Taluq Kakwarā in the tract of jungle Tarāi was appointed permanent Ghātwāls on a rent of Rs. 245-12-15 gandas including Pargana charges. The services were of the nature of police and quasi-military duties. With the

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[22] The grant of a Jāgīr was the province of the State ; but the Zamindār in his capacity as the representatives of the state could make a Jāgīr grant. The fact had to be reported to the Emperor at Delhi for its confirmation and the Jāgīr used to be entered in a Register then called Tun Daftars. Sir Barnes Peacock is of opinion that before the E. I. Company's accession to the Dewānī the Zamindar undoubtedly had often the status of a Government representative, but the question whether he had still retained that status after the Dewāni is still left open. Justice Sanders, later on held that the dual capacity of the Zamindār continued upto 1790 A.D. when Decennial Settlement had taken place. For details see Harington's Analysis of Bengal tenures Regulations. (1821 A.D.).

[23] The basis of the Pargana rate of settlement was presumably not followed in Kakwarā Settlement ; that shows it had a different status than Zamindāri. See Browne's grant to Hāndwe was confirmed in 1774 by Dickinson. Chākai grant of Browne was confirmed by Mr. Chapman, Collector of Ramghār.

restoration of order in the territory and with the assumption of actual administration by the British, the service of the Ghātwāls were no longer necessary. But the tenures were hereditary though not inheritable, *i.e.*, the son does not succeed the father. The son steps into his father's ghātwāli but holds it of the Government without any reference to his father's obligations. He gets it free of all encumbrance imposed upon it by the outgoing incumbent. His property is not salable in a rent suit. It can not be sold against a mortgage. The tenure is personal still today as it was in Mughal days. It is not resumable if it be a Government Ghātwāli and if the ghātwāl is willing and ready to perform those services." The fiction of the military service still continues as 'an interesting survival'.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ACCESSION OF NAWAB SA'ADAT ALI KHAN TO THE MASNAD OF OUDH.

(From unpublished Sources.)

(By Mr. G. R. Gurbax, B.A..)

On the death of Asaf-ud-daula, Nawab-Wazir of Oudh in 1797, palace influence, particularly the influence of the Begum (the mother of the late Nawab) and of Alma Ali Khan secured the succession for Wazir Ali, a reputed son of the late Nawab This involved the supersession of the claims of Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan, the late Nawab's eldest surviving brother, who was at Benares at the time. Sa'adat Ali Khan had fixed his residence there for about twenty years, and was living expressly in expectation of the succession. Accordingly, the news of Wazir Ali's accession caused him great mortification, and he immediately made representations to Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, to depose Wazir Ali and install him on the *Masnad*.

In this he was successful. Even before the death of his brother he had established close relations with the English, had concluded an agreement with them, and was generally favourably regarded by them. Other influential personages at Lucknow also made representations against Wazir Ali. Thus it happened that in spite of the fact that Sir John Shore had at first approved of the succession of Wazir Ali,—Sa'adat Ali and his supporters were able to persuade the Governor-General to depose Wazir Ali. The principal ground on which Sir John Shore came to this decision was the spuriousness of Wazir Ali's birth. The latter was also abandoned by his former supporters. His deposition and the formal installation of Sa'adat Ali on the *Masnad* took place on January 21, 1798, after Wazir had reigned for four months. The deposed prince was required to go away from Lucknow and live at Benares under the surveillance of Mr. G. F. Cherry, the British Resident there. Sir John Shore had, however, his misgivings about the choice of the place. As he wrote in his minute of March 5, 1797, and letter to the Court of Directors :—

> "At some future period I would recommend his removal from Benares to some situation within the provinces of the Company, and no place appears to me more proper than Rajemahal. Under the fullest conviction, that not a human being ever believed him to have a shadow of right to the Musnud, and without the most distant apprehension that his title to it will ever be revived, common prudence dictates the propriety of a more distant removal from a country where, for four months, he acted as sovereign, that nothing may be left to chance, which prudence can obviate. At present, in the indulgence of youthful dissipations he finds every gratification which he can desire, but we are not to forget that he has exhibited marks not only of a depraved and vicious character, but of an ambitious and fearless disposition, capable of any acts of desperation." (Asiatic Annual Register, Vol. VIII, 1806—Part I, State Papers, page 5).

These apprehensions came true in less than a year. On January 19, 1799, Wazir Ali, apparently on a momentary impulse but more probably by a pre-meditated scheme, killed Cherry and some of his guests and then sought to abscond. A British force was, however, sent after him in pursuit and he was seized at Jaipur towards the end of the year and made over to the English authorities.

These events have been related with the help of the English records. There are, however, certain Persian sources, which so far as I know, are not available in translation, which give fuller information concerning the activities of Sa'adat Ali Khan and his share in these transactions. These sources are :—

(1) Imadus Sa'adat.

(2) Sawanihat-i-Salatinat-i-Oudh.

Both these accounts are in manuscript form and are preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. My attention was drawn to them by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.*

In addition, there are two Persian letters in the archives of the Imperial Record Department written by Sa'adat Ali Khan and addressed to Marquis Wellesley, which furnish information on the murder of Mr. Cherry and Wazir Ali's arrest. In the first of these letters, dated the 19th January, 1799, Sa'adat Ali conveyed the news of Mr. Cherry's murder to the Governor-General, and recounted the steps he had taken for apprehending Wazir Ali. In the second, dated the 21st December, 1799, he communicated the news of Wazir Ali's arrest at Jaipur and his felicitations to the Governor-General on this event. I first saw these at an exhibition of Indian historical records held at Poona, and was enabled afterwards to obtain copies of both the original letters and of their translations from the Imperial Records Department through the courtesy of Dr. S. N. Sen, the Keeper of the Imperial Records.

I shall now set forth the information contained in these sources in their chronological sequence. The most important point that emerges out of them is that Sa'adat Ali had approached the English authorities and begun to make consistent attempts to interest them in his succession long before his brother's death, even from the time of Warren Hastings. Imadus Sa'adat gives the following account of the first of these attempts :—

> "Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan came over from Dig to Akbarabad. In exchange of the customary cordial correspondence, he wrote to inform the Nawab Governor-General Hastings of his arrival at Akbarabad and of his intention to go somewhere. Mr. Hastings wrote in reply that it was not advisable to go any where, rather he should stay at Lucknow ; he would receive annually during the life-time of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula four lacs of rupees for his household expenses from the Government ; and on the demise of Nawab Asaf he would take possession of all his estates and cash ; on the other hand, it was proper and meet that he should not let any thoughts cross his mind during his borther's life-time." (Imadus Sa'adat, page 263).

This was followed, at some date which is not stated but probably during the Governor-Generalship of Sir John Shore, by a visit to Calcutta with the same object. The *Sawanihat* gives an account of this visit and of the consideration that was shown him by the Company's high officials. The account runs :—

> "He was a man of great sagacity and understanding and was alive to the consequences of his actions, so he departed to Calcutta. He was interviewed by the Council before which he preferred his claim to his noble ancestral states on the death of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula. The Sahibs accorded him all the respect and regard due to his station and they left no stone unturned to entertain him. The Nawab Governor-General declared confidently that time could only decide the petition. Till the life-time

(1) Imadus Sa'adat—Ms. No. 195, (R. A. S. B.) Also lethographed.
Sawanihat-i-Saltinat-i-Oudh —Ms. No. 931, (R. A. S. B.)

of his brother he should compose his impatience and remain content with the fixed allowances he received. After that event (his brother's death) he (the Governor-General) considered it his duty to try his utmost and to restore the claimed to the rightful claimant. Among others, this courtesy was shown to him that the Sahibs on horse-back kept behind him and considered it a discourtesy to precede him ; and if inadvertently any one rode ahead he instantly drew back. The moat round the fort of Calcutta was removed. The horse of the Nawab jumped over the moat ; the General of the fort was undecided, and the matters reached the Council who gave the decision that it was not right and proper to take possession of alien property, but out of their regard for the Nawab this gate of the fort was assigned as his private property ; and it was kept locked and no one used this gate. On completing the sight-seeing and a tour of Calcutta the Janab Ali (Sa'adat Ali Khan) returned to Benares and awaited to see what the fates had in store for him." (Sawanihat-i-Salatin-i-Oudh, page 58)*.

Sa'adat Ali Khan's relations with his brother, Nawab Asaf-ud-daula were not easy. The reasons for this are not expressly given. But the two Persian sources indicate that he was at times asked to take up his residence at Lucknow, and did as a matter of fact make a temporary stay and received considerate treatment from Asaf-ud-daula under certain conditions, but that owing to difference in temperament preferred to live at Benares. In one of the extracts quoted above it has been stated that Warren Hastings requested Sa'adat to go and live at Lucknow. How Sa'adat acted on this suggestion and the subsequent events are related in the *Imadus Sa'adat*:

" On receiving his communication the Nawab signified his willingness to go once to Lucknow. Mr. Hastings had a talk over this matter with Nawab Asaf-ud-daula. Nawab Asaf-ud-daula said that his brother's being in Lucknow would give him great pleasure, provided he was not accompanied by two persons, one Tafuzzul Hossain Khan and the other Khaja Yalam Muhammad Khan alias Biddi Mirza.

" The Nawab Governor-General apprised Nawab Sa'adat of these facts. He was ill-pleased with the condition and unwilling to comply with it. But Khan Alama and Mirza Mu'izat Allah prevailed upon him to accede to his brother's request. The best interests of a servant, they said, could only be served if it was beneficial to the master. Whatever is beneficial for the master is good for the servant. He should depart hence to Lucknow. His servants would scatter here and there in search for livelihood. If the Nawab reached his goal he would accomplish the secret ambition of his well-wishing servants, and then he might if he would give a hand to his servants. It was possible for Sa'adat Ali Khan to interest himself in his servants from that place as well. He should never withdraw his hand from over his servants What did it matter if they did not form part of his retinue at Lucknow? Man's state always changed. Patience ! Nawab Asaf-ud-daula on enjoying your Society might forget his ill-natured condition and he might himself suggest the sending of the letter-of-order recalling the presence of them, the servants, to Lucknow.

" The Nawab promoted Allama Multanier Khan and Mirza to the highest posts in his household and with armed retainers and a splendid equipage started for Lucknow. The inhabitants of Sadat Ganj were jubilant. Nawab Vazir ul Mamalik Asaf-ud-daula expressed his joy on his brother's arrival. But as submission to another's will was irksome to Nawab Sa'adat Ali his stay at Lucknow was not pleasant

* The extracts from the Sawanihat are not exact translation but give the purport in the fullest detail.

for him. There were other contributory causes. At the end it was resolved that he should reside at Benares and whatever allowance was fixed for his household expenses he would receive through the agency of the English. Nawab Sa'adat Ali was mighty pleased. He reached Benares and resided on the bank of the river at a place called Dwarka Kund. He awaited on the mercy of the unknown, *i.e.* Fate, for twenty years in that city." (Imadus Sa'adat, page 263).

The *Sawanihat* also has :

"The Nawab Vazir-ul-mulk, on the departure of the army of Nawab Najaf Khan, and a short stay at Lucknow, graced the city of Benares with his presence. During his stay at Lucknow Nawab Asaf-ud-daula treated him with great respect and regard and entertained him lavishly. It was his fond desire to proclaim Ghazi-ud-din Haidar Khan the noble son of Sa'adat Ali Khan as his adopted son and heir and successor to the State ; but as the society of the late Nawab was not agreeable to him and their temparaments were poles apart, he did not deem it opportune to remain at Lucknow and preferred to continue his stay at Benares." (Sawanihat-i-Salatin-i-Oudh, page 58.)

His hopes for the *Masnad* were, however, shattered for the moment by the accession of Wazir Ali. As the *Imadus* says :—

"The day he received the news of the death of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula and of the accession to office of Wazir Ali Khan his grief and anger was aroused on two counts. He was grieved for his brother's death and angry on the accession of a stranger to the paternal *Masnud* which would prove to be the cause of the ruin of the edifice of his House. A letter containing these matters and his complaint about the breach of contract which had been entered into between himself and the Nawab Governor-General Mr. Hastings was despatched to Nawab Governor-General Mr. Shore. He followed his letter to Calcutta. He had an interview with the Governor-General." (*Imadus Sa'adat*, page 263).

The *Sawanihat* gives a more detailed account of his activities and also relates how he finally succeeded in his object. The account is quoted below :—

"Being sad and astonished, since after the death of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula, Mirza Wazir Ali Khan ascended on the *Masnud* of the state, he started with his office towards Calcutta. Because, at that time, it was essential to ask the Governor-General to fulfil his word and promise. By the favour of good luck the society of Tafazzul Hussain Khan and that of the other members of the state dispersed there. So Khan Allama, wrote a letter to Maulvi Sadan, who was the teacher and special adviser to Janab Ali, to the following effect, that he was well informed with the nature of this man Wazir Ali. Though he was his pupil and had remained under his guidance, yet he had not the least sympathy with his cause and he thought that the state should go to the rightful heir.

In short, when the budgerow of Janab Ali was staying at Raj-Mahal, after passing the fourth part of the night, the English peon handed over the same letter to the Maulvi. On receiving this sudden message they were greatly pleased and owing to fealty placed it before Janab Ali. Whatever was particularly written in it was nearly granted. On the following morning they started towards Benares while the Resident Sahib, being face to face, made an agreement with Janab Ali that whatever Sir John Shore would order, there would be neither objection nor refusal on his side. Accordingly, he signed the agreement and handed it over to the Resident Sahib. On the other day he started towards Kathpur. Till the news of the arrival of Janab Ali it was not certain and for the same reason there was delay in imprisonment of Wazir Ali Khan. As soon as the news of the arrival reached in the evening they imprisoned him.

In short on the 21st of January, 1798 A. D., he penetrated into the city, entered the Royal Palace and sat on the seat of the Wazarat. According to custom, the relatives and the Amirs paid tribute to him.

At that time his age was nearly fifty years. For one complete year he passed his life in luxury." (*Sawanihat-i-Salatin-i-Oudh*, page 58, R. A. S. B.)

The final development regarding Wazir Ali is given in his letters to Marquis Wellesley on the murder of Mr. Cherry. The first letter runs :—

From Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan to Marquis Wellesley, Earl of Mornington, Governor-General, dated 12th *Shaban* 1213 (19th January 1799 A. D.) (Received 12th February 1799).

"After compliments. At this time Vazir Ali, at Benares, has committed a deed which even the most brutal person may not have perpetrated. That is, on 7 *Shaban* (14th Jan. 1799) he deceitfully approached, without previous warning, Mr. Cherry's house with a large number of followers and out of his evil disposition killed him along with four other gentlemen as he sat in his house unarmed and unaware. The murderer then absconded towards the North-East. On receiving intelligence of this unexpected incident and horrible occurrence my heart was filled with intense grief and notwithstanding that there is no remedy for what befalls from Fate I immediately issued peremptory orders and *shuqqas* to all the officers, *zamindars*, *sawars*, *piadahs* and battallions which are stationed throughout the country that they should search for and apprehend that brute, adding that whoever of the *zamindars* and soldiers bring the wretched fellow under arrest he will be given a reward of Rs. 50,000 from the *sarkar* and thereafter will always remain the object of favour and kindness. Urgent *shuqqas* have also been sent on the wings of Speed in all directions and I have also decided to go myself to the North-East to expedite the arrest of that vile creature. I hope that with the help and favour of God that unfortunate wretch, the wanderer of the desert of adversity, will soon be captured and will suffer the consequences of his crime. This I have written for your information. I am hopeful that considering me to be ever anxious to hear the news of your health and welfare you will always make me happy by despatching frequent accounts of your health. May God prolong the days of happiness and prosperity for you".

(Original Persian letter received, 12th Feby. 1799, No. 25).

A second letter followed at the end of the same year, and ran to the following effect :—

From Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan to Marquis Wellesley, Earl of Mornington, Governor-General. Received 21st December, 1799.

"I have just now understood from a letter received by Colonel Scott from Colonel Collins that Rajah Pertaub Sing of Jaipur having secured the assassin, Vazir Ali had delivered him upto Colonel Collins, and that officer was proceeding with him in safe custody to this quarter. Intimation of this pleasing intelligence afforded me the sincerest joy and satisfaction. This event must be attributed to the wisdom and prudence of the Company's Government and to the fear entertained of their power and influence and will doubtless serve as a warning and cause disappointment to the enemies of the two States. May the Just and Righteous God ever in this manner abandon and punish enemies of our respective Governments and may all friends by hearing such glad tidings be made ever happy.

I hope from your Lordship's kindness that deeming me desirous of receiving the pleasing accounts of your Lordship's health, you will continue to gratify me with letters until I may have the pleasure of a personal interview with your Lordship."

(Original Persian letter received 21st December 1799, No. 435.)

The Evacuation of the Island of Karrack, 1841-42.

[By Dr. Bool Chand, M.A., Ph.D.]

The records of the Government of India reveal a most interesting case of conflict between the Government of India under Lord Auckland and the British Foreign Office in the year 1841. The conflict of view related to the small island of Karrak in the Persian Gulf, which had been occupied by the Government of India by means of a small force of 387 sepoys under Col. Sheriff on the 19th of June, 1838, as a counterblast to the Persian invasion of Herat.[1]

1. It must, at the very start, be made clear that the situation of Herat made it imperative, in the view of the Government of India, that that country should be independent or at least in friendly hands. The territory of Herat is the only route by which a large and fully equipped army could advance towards India from the north-west; and the city of Herat was, therefore, truly considered 'the gate of Afghanistan'. The Government of India could not look upon a Persian invasion of Herat with equanimity, as it was clear that the Shah was being encouraged in his schemes of conquest by the Russians.

The Persian invasion of Herat began in November 1837. On the 22nd of that month, the seige was laid to the city, and continued for quite several months. After six months had already passed, Mr. McNeill, the British Ambassador to Persia, arrived on the 6th of April 1838 in camp and remonstrated against the action of the Shah in attacking Herat, telling him that if he should still persist in his actions, Great Britain would consider herself at liberty to take measures to compel the withdrawal of the Persian army. The seige was, however, still continued, making it necessary for the British to make some demonstration in order to check the enthusiasm of the Persians. This was done by the capture of the island of Karrak in June 1838. The demonstration had the desired result; the warlike Shah was terrified at the arrival of a few sepoys on an island thirty miles from the coast of Persia. Anyhow, the Persians made a desperate assault on the 24th of June, but failed to capture the fortress. Marshman compares the memorable defence of Herat against 40,000 Persian troops, aided by the skill of Russian engineers, with the defence of Arcot by Clive.[2] In the face of such failure, the Persian army began to retreat from before Herat on the 9th of September.

Persian failure and retreat ought, it is arguable, to have set at rest the fears and agitation of the Government of India regarding the grand projects of Persia; but unfortunately it did not. Lord Auckland, always incapable of taking firm decisions and acting for the most part under the influence of those who surrounded him, and now unfortunately separated from the constitutional advice of his Council, for they were in Calcutta while he himself was in Simla, took a different view, and after the retreat of the Persians sent Major Todd on a mission to negotiate a treaty of alliance with the ruler of Herat in order "to secure on our western frontier an ally who was interested in resisting aggression, in place of chiefs ranging themselves in subservience to a

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1 Although this matter is of comparative insignificance, yet it may be mentioned that the force was sent by Lord Auckland in answer to the request in March 1838 of Mr. McNeill, who felt that the despatch of a British expeditionary force to the Persian Gulf was the sole means of compelling the Shah to listen to the British representation.

2 *See* J. C. Marshman : History of India, 1867, Vol. II, p. 139.

hostile power."[1] The treaty was completed in August 1839, the Governor General granting a monthly allowance for the support of the state in order to effect the abolition of slave trade in Herat. But in spite of this treaty, the intrigues of the Herat ruler and his Minister, Yar Muhammad, with Persia continued, Yar Muhammad writing to the Persian Government that "he merely tolerated the English envoy from expediency, but that his hopes were in the Asylum of Islam"[2]; and along with these intrigues continued the fear of Persian advancement on the part of Lord Auckland.

2. The Government in England, however, had a better assessment of the situation, particularly after the victories in Afghanistan in 1840 and 1841. It is possible that the impulse towards a forward North-West policy on Lord Auckland's part had been given in 1836 by the home authorities. A despatch from London, dated 25th June 1836,[3] did warn the Governor-General of the dangerous character of Russian action in Persia, mentioning that Dost Muhammad from Kabul and his brother, Kohindil Khan, from Kandhar were in active correspondence with the Persian court. But by 1841, the fears of the British Government had definitely cooled down. On June 7, 1838, when the Shah was continuing the seige of Herat in spite of McNeill's remonstrances, the British Envoy had taken the serious step of declaring his relations with the Government of Persia suspended; now, on the 28th of June 1841, Lord Palmerston, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, sent him back in order to resume his diplomatic functions at the court of Persia.[4] In giving instructions as to his attitude to the Shah and his Ministers and the reply to be given to any solicitations for the good offices of Great Britain, Lord Palmerston said:[5] "Great Britain has now established in Afghanistan a better and firmer barrier for her Indian possessions than she could ever have hoped to create in Persia; and now perhaps the best way of retaining our hold in Persia will be to let the Persian Government understand that though still wishing well to Persia, we feel comparatively indifferent about our connection with her and that it is now for Persia to court England and that England will no longer court Persia".

Detailed instructions to Sir John McNeill had already been given on the 5th of July.[6] "You will, therefore, immediately after your audience with the Shah, invite the Persian Minister to proceed to the signature of this Treaty, and you will say that the British ratification thereof shall be prepared without delay; and that as soon as the Ratification of the two Crowns shall have been exchanged, you will be authorised to send directions to the officer commanding the British detachments in Karrak to evacuate that island and to deliver it up to the person who may be appointed by the Persian Government to receive it; and you will add that to expedite the evacuation of the island you are instructed to let the Governor-General of India know when the Commercial Treaty shall have been signed, so that arrangements may be made for immediately evacuating the island as soon as the officer commanding there shall receive from you further information that the Treaty has been ratified. But if the Shah should be willing to ratify the Treaty at once without waiting

[1] *Ref.* Lord Auckland's minute, dated 1st October 1838.

[2] *See* Markham : History of Persia, 1874, p. 481.

[3] Quoted by Sir Auckland Colvin : Life of John Russell Colvin, pp. 86—88.

[4] *See* Despatch from the Court of Directors, 753 of 1841.

[5] In his despatch, dated 10th August 1841. *See* Secret Despatches from Court, No. 775 of 1841.

[6] *See* Despatches from Court, No. 765 of 1841.

for the Queen's ratification, and if the Shah would give you his ratification to be sent to England with the Treaty itself, in that case you should send word to that effect to the Officer Commanding at Karrak, in order that he may cause the British troops to evacuate the island without further delay. But you will state to the Shah and his Ministers that His Majesty's Government expect and demand that the inhabitants of Karrak shall not, after the restortaion of that island to the authorities of the Shah, be exposed to any persecution or molestation whatever in consequence of their temporary connection with the British Government, and you will require a written and personal engagement to this effect, before you send any communication to the Officer in command of Karrak for the evacuation of that island....." A copy of these instructions was sent to the Rt. Hon. Sir John Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, with the request that it may be transmitted to the Governor-General of India and "that His Excellency's attention may be specially called to those parts of this which relates to the period of evacuation of the island of Karrak."[1]

On his arrival in Teheran, Sir John McNeill immediately addressed himself to the main task of concluding the Commercial Treaty and was able to report on the 30th of October 1841 that "the Treaty of Commerce between Great Britain and Persia had been signed on the 28th instant and had received the ratification of the Shah on the same day", but that "this Treaty will probably not come into operation until the Queen's ratification shall have been received here."[2]

In accordance with the instructions of the Foreign Secretary that "if the Shah should be willing to ratify the Treaty at once without waiting for the Queen's ratification and if the Shah should give the ratification to be sent to England along with the Treaty itself, in that case you should send word to the effect to the Officer Commanding at Karrak in order that he may cause the British troops to evacuate the island without further delay", Sir John McNeill had during the negotiations given the Persian Minister to understand that on the conclusion of a Commercial Treaty between the Governments the British troops should evacuate the island of Karrak. And now that the Commercial Treaty had been signed and had received the Shah's ratification to be sent home along with the Treaty, he thought it necessary—in view of the fulfilment of all precedental conditions—to address the Resident in the Persian Gulf and the Officer Commanding the detachment in Karrak directing the evacuation of the island by the British troops with as little delay as may be found practicable, informing the Officer Commanding that "if arrangements for the transport of troops should not already have been made, he should communicate with the Resident in the Persian Gulf as to the means of giving the necessary intimation as speedily as possible to the Bombay Government, by whom the amount of tonnage required would be doubtless immediately furnished, as that Government had certainly for some time been in possession of instructions on this subject".[3] At the same time, he wrote to the Secretary to Government of India, enclosing "copies of letters which had passed between His Persian Majesty's Ministers and myself respecting the inhabitants of the island of Karrak, from which you will perceive that the

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *See* Secret Consultations, 20th December 1841.

[3] *See* Sir John McNeill's letter, dated 28th October 1841, in Secret Proceedings, 20th December 1841.

Shah promises not to molest them in consequence of their intercourse with us, and will give orders to that effect to the Governor of Fars in a farman".[1]

3. The Governor-General of India, however, in his frame of mind, could not have considered the terms of the instructions to Sir John McNeill satisfactory. On receipt from the Secret Committee of the copy of instructions issued to Sir John McNeill by Lord Palmerston under date 3rd July, the Governor-General himself wrote to Sir J. McNeill, in direct antagonism to the instructions of the Foreign Secretary that "His Lordship in Council is not disposed to rest satisfied without a complete and formal renunciation by Persia of her pretensions on Afghanistan, and if you should find on your observation of the feelings of the Persian Government that it is not to be trusted in regard to the abandonment of its intrigues with that country and in the general tenor of its conduct towards Great Britain, His Lordship in Council will be quite prepared to take on himself the responsibility of advising that you withhold the order for the evacuation of Karrak until perfectly satisfactory assurances shall be obtained from the Shah in these respects".[2] At the same time Capt. Hennell, Resident in Persian Gulf, was instructed to ask the Officer Commanding at Karrak not to withdraw any part of the force from that island until the arrival of further instructions from the Government of India. By the mail of 1st September, however, copies of these despatches were forwarded to the Secret Committee asking for definitive orders of the Home Authorities on the course to be pursued with regard to Karrak.

The Government of India's letter despatched on the 16th of August was received by Sir John McNeill on the 9th of November 1841; and he sent a reply that very day protesting against the Governor-General's instructions to Capt. Hennell against withdrawal from Karrak. He had already concluded the agreement with the Persian Government; and therefore he proceeded to say[3]—"Had I received these instructions from the Rt. Hon. the Governor-General before I had opened or even before I had terminated the negotiations with this Government for the conclusion of the Commercial Treaty, it might have been in my power to postpone or to protract these negotiations until I should have received further information from His Lordship; but even this would have been in direct contravention of my instructions, both written and verbal. But my despatches of the 1st instant will inform His Lordship that the Commercial Treaty has been signed and ratified, that the Persian Government has granted the indemnity to the people of Karrak, which I was instructed to demand, that the Shah has thus fulfilled all the conditions upon which Her Majesty's Government had engaged to evacuate the island of Karrak; that in accordance with the arrangement agreed upon between the two Governments in the correspondence of Lord Palmerston and Hajee Mirza Aghasee, and in obedience to my instructions, I had addressed a letter to the Officer Commanding the British detachments at Karrak directing him to evacuate that island and had officially intimated to the Persian Ministers my intention to give these directions.....I cannot doubt that under these circumstances the Right Hon. the Governor-General will be of opinion that the British Government is bound in good faith to fulfil engagements thus formally concluded with the Persian Government and of which the Shah has already

[1] *See* Sir John McNeill's letter, dated 30th October 1841, in Secret Proceedings—20th December 1841.

[2] *See* Letter dated Fort William, 16th August 1841, in Secret Consultations—20th December 1841.

[3] *See* Letter dated Tehran, 9th November 1841, in Secret Consultationc—20th December 1841.

performed his part. I am the more fully impressed with this conviction because previous to my departure from England the intrigues of Persia with Herat were well known and it was even doubted whether the Shah might not have been enabled to introduce a garrison into Herat or might not be induced to aid Yar Mahomed Khan with money and troops. Contemplating the possibility of such a state of things I thought it my duty to put the case to Lord Palmerston and to enquire whether in the event of my finding on my arrival that the Shah was engaged in such proceedings it was the desire of Her Majesty's Government that I should conclude the Commercial Treaty and cause the evacuation of Karrak, or that I should postpone the negotiations for effecting these objects; His Lordship was of opinion that even if the case I had supposed should have occurred, it would be better to fulfil in perfect good faith the engagement entered into between the Governments, to conclude the Commercial Treaty and to cause the evacuation of the island of Karrak, leaving the question respecting Afghanistan to be dealt with separately. My course, therefore, was perfectly clear and free from every doubt and that course I have pursued in strict conformity with my instructions and with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government".

4. The conflict of instructions thus occasioned by the conflict of views of the British Foreign Secretary and the Governor-General of India in Council, naturally delayed the evacuation of Karrak. The conflict was ultimately resolved by the action of the Home Authorities, *i.e.* the Secret Committee, which had already been written to by the Government of India for 'definitive orders'.

It seems that the Court itself inclined to the view of the Governor-General in Council, although the influences at home ultimately pressed them in the other direction. When on the 4th of September 1841 there was a change of administration in England, they felt that there might be a chance for the prevalence of their view and they wrote to the Governor-General "that no step should be taken with respect to Herat, which would have the effect of compelling the prosecution of a specific line of policy in the countries beyond the Indus, until the new Ministers shall have had the time to take the subject into their deliberate consideration and to communicate to us their opinions thereon".[1] But their hopes proved in vain; for when on the receipt on 25th October of the Government of India's letter of 16th August, the President of the Board of Control referred the question of Karrak to the new Foreign Secretary, Lord Aberdeen, he received the reply that "the Governor-General will doubtless have received, since the date of this despatch, a copy of Viscount Palmerston's letter to the President of the Board of Control, dated 23rd August....., and His Excellency will have thereby been apprized of the strong objection felt by the Queen's Government to taking any measures with respect to Karrak, which should bear the appearance of a desire to evade the performance of the engagements entered into with the Persian Government for the surrender of that island. Her Majesty's Government continue to be of opinion that when Persia has fulfilled her engagements respecting the Commercial Treaty, Great Britain will be bound to cause the island of Karrak to be evacuated by the British forces.....".[2]

So, what proved decisive was the letter of Lord Palmerston to the President of the Board of Control of 23rd August 1841.[3] It said that "if the

[1] *See* Despatches from Court, No. 785 of 1841.
[2] *See* Lord Aberdeen's letter in Despatches from Court, No. 801 of 1841.
[3] *See* Lord Palmerston's letter in Despatches from Court, No. 775 1841.

Persian Government concludes the treaty of commerce with this country, which it has engaged to sign, the British Government is positively bound to withdraw the British troops from Karrak. But the withdrawal of these troops would not render necessary the removal of the Company's Resident or the retirement of any British merchants who may have established themselves in the Island, and it would be quite possible and perhaps expedient to have a small ship of war often visiting the island for the purpose of affording protection to British interests....."

On receiving the 'definitive orders' of the Home Authorities, the Governor-General at last agreed to the evacuation of Karrak and wrote to Sir John McNeill on the 18th December that "the Government of India holds itself bound by your engagements to the Court of Tehran for the surrender of Karrak to the officers of the Persian Government and that orders for its immediate evacuation, unless that measure should in the meantime be countermanded by you or by the authorities in England, will be this day forwarded by express through the Government of Bombay for the information and guidance of our resident in the Persian Gulf". The letter to the Secretary to Government of Bombay, through whom instructions were conveyed to the Resident in the Persian Gulf, bespoke the sense of mortification that was experienced by the Governor-General in having to follow that course.— "Although His Lordship in Council could have wished that the conclusion of the commercial treaty between Great Britain and Persia had been preceded by the disavowal on the part of Persia of further dangers of encroachment on the side of Herat and Afghanistan, still as the Treaty had been signed there remains only the obligation of fulfilling in good faith the terms of it whereby the evacuation of Karrak is stipulated".

The evacuation of Karrak was at last effected in March 1842.

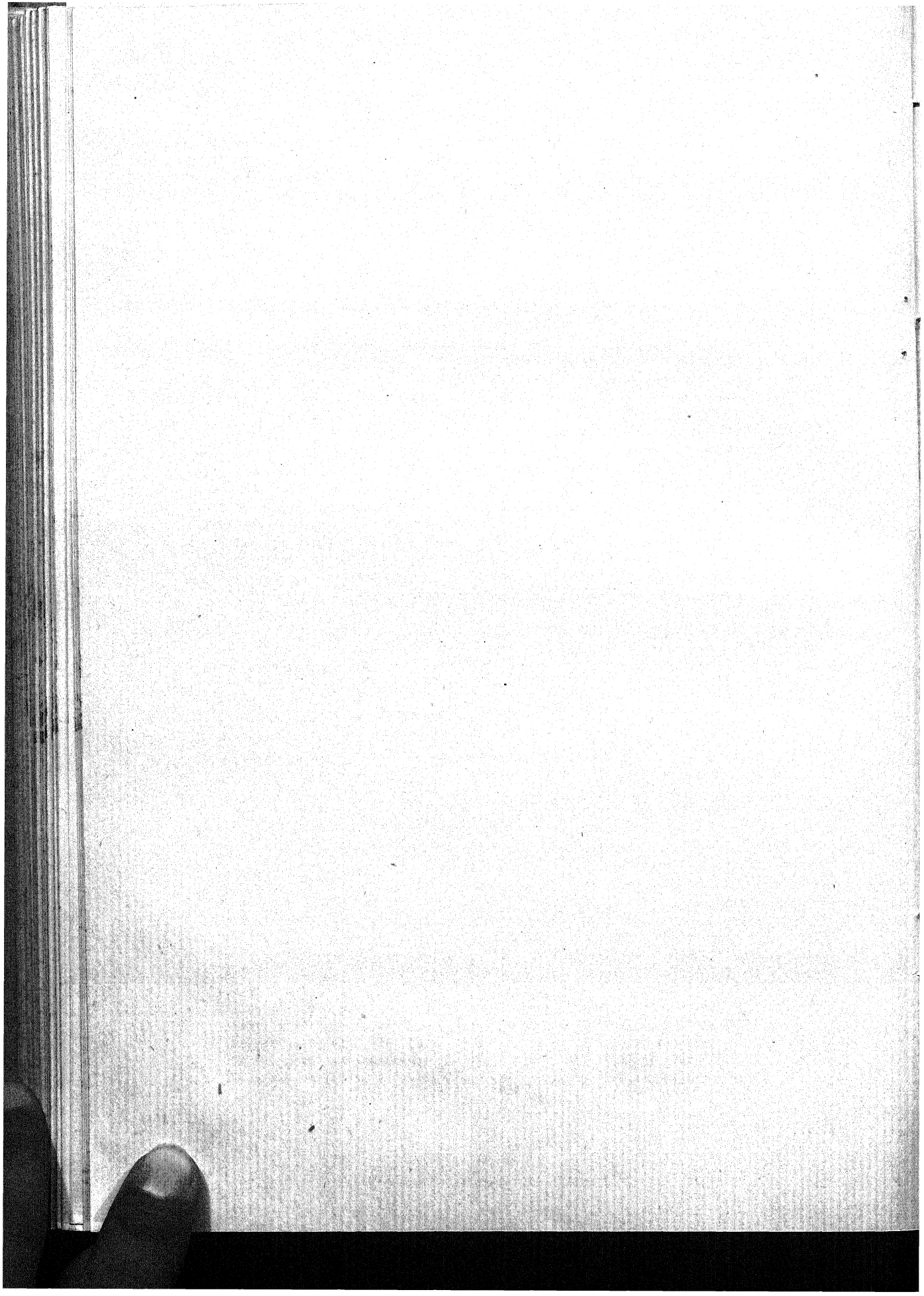
5. To a historian of India's constitutional development this complicated episode bears very high importance. It marks a significant step in the gradual extension of the Imperial Government's authority and influence upon the political activity of the Governor-General of India and his Council at Calcutta, after 1833.

It is said that Mr. Pitt had, by his Act of 1784, left to the Company, the semblance of power, while he had imperceptibly taken away the reality. The Court of Directors still remained 'the grandest corporation in the grandest city of the world', but there had been created behind it a machinery, a Government department, which controlled all its movements. This machinery, comprising a Board of Control (constituted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Secretary of State and four Privy Councillors holding office at the royal pleasure and appointed by the King), had been given control over all matters civil or military Government of the British territorial possessions in the East Indies. But the possibility of the Board encroaching upon the commercial business of the Company had been securely protected against; and since it is possible technically to argue—as, indeed, the argument was made in a slightly different context in 1830 with regard to the navigation of the river Indus—that even manifestly political activity might have a basic commercial motive, this provision had protected a large part of the political activity of the Company from the interference of the Board and the decisive influence of the British Cabinet. The Company being a commercial as well as governmental corporation, no President of the Board of Control could have reasonably bartered away its independence and made it wholly subordinate to a purely

political corporation like the British Cabinet. That the Company did retain a fair measure of independence in the management of its external political affairs may be established by instancing the despatch in 1810 of Sir John Malcolm as the envoy to the Persian Emperor by Lord Minto, Governor-General of India, even although Sir Harford Jones was already attached to the Persian Court as representative of George III, King of England.

But the Charter Act of 1833 made a fundamental change in the position of the Company. Now the territorial possessions of the Company were declared to be 'in trust for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the service of the Government of India'. Now the Company as a commercial corporation was definitely brought to an end; its exclusive right of trading with China and in tea, retained in 1813, was terminated, the commercial business of the Company was closed and all property that was not retained for the purposes of the government of the territories was sold off under the supervision of the Board of Control. The result was the emergence of East India Company, a purely political and governmental corporation, in the place of the old 'United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies'.

This change set into motion a process for the development of the power of British Cabinet over the Government of India, in name as well as in fact. The process—gradual like all British institutions in their evolution—was intrinsically imperceptible, although it might occasionally have caused some conflicts—like the one that is the theme of this paper—between the power that was losing (the Government of India) and the power that was establishing its ascendancy (the British Government). The completion of this development had, it is noteworthy, already been achieved before the formal assumption of government by the Crown. On the 1st of November 1856, the Governor-General had declared the war against Persia in the name of the Indian Government; on the 4th of March 1857, however, the peace was concluded, not between the Shah of Persia and the Governor-General of India, as might have been expected, but at Paris, between the Ambassador of the Queen of England and Ferouk Khan, Envoy Extraordinary of the Court of Teheran.



THE RIYĀDU'L-INSHĀ AS A SOURCE BOOK OF DECCAN HISTORY

[By H. K. Sherwani, M.A. (Oxon.), F. R.Hist.S., Bar.-at-Law]

The Riyādu'l-Inshā[1] is the collection of the letters of the Bahmani wazir, Khwājā Maḥmūd Gāwāñ written either in his own name or in the name of his master the Bahmani Sultan. The collection has not seen the light of print, still it cannot be said to be scarce and its manuscripts are interspersed in European and Indian libraries. The particular manuscript to which references will be made is from the Habībganj library kindly lent to me by the owner Nawwāb Sadr Yār Jang Bahādur and is numbered 50/136[2]. It originally belonged to the late Nawwāb Muḥsinu'l-Mulk Bahādur, once the Financial and Revenue Secretary of Hyderabad and later Honorary Secretary of the M.A.-O. College which has now developed into the Aligarh Muslim University. It is the best copy of the collection that I have seen and is written in a very good hand. Unfortunately the last five or six pages of the original, probably containing the colophon, are missing and a transcript has been added with the result that it is impossible to discover when the particular copy was prepared.

It is strange that no one has yet utilised the work as a source book of history though there is a mass of historical material contained in it. Of the two small brochures so far published on the Khwājā's life[3] only the late Mr. 'Azīz Mirzā has given any account of the Riyād, but even he has dealt with it only as a work illustrating the ornate style of Persian prose in fashion in the middle of the fifteenth century.

There are altogether 145 letters in the collection out of which 84 have a direct bearing on the historical atmosphere in which they were written, while the letters to foreign potentates and ministers of foreign states are also of great historical significance. The material contained in the collections throws light on the Khwājā's private life, Bahmani diplomatic relations, military campaigns, factional politics and party animosities of the period. They are couched in highly ornate style, full of similes and metaphors, interspersed with lines from poems, qasīdās and ghazals, as well as extracts from the Qur'ān, the Hadith and numerous Arabic and Persian writers. They go to show the great command of the author, himself a *litterateur* of some eminence, on the current literature and literary method of the period, and it is no wonder that the book has so long been regarded more as a literary masterpiece than a historical source book.

Of the 145 letters, 14 are addressed to the ministers of the Deccan from the battlefields, 13 to ministers of foreign countries, 11 to Kings of Indian States (namely, Gujrat, Jaunpur and Malwa) and 32 to rulers of foreign states (namely Turkey, 'Irāq, Egypt and Gīlān). Apart from those which have a bearing on the politics of the Deccan, there are 38 letters to the Khwājā's own relatives and 34 to men renowned in the world of learning and piety such as Maulānā Jāmī, Khwājā

[1] Hammer, Wiener Jahrbuecher, 62, Anz. Blat., 17 ; Fluegel, Arab. Per. und Turk. Handschr. der K.K. Bibl. zu Wien. I. 261, N. 282, 283, 284 ; St. Petersburg Library Catalogue, I, 416 ; Blochet, Cat. des Manuscripts persanes, p. 399 ; Asafiyah Library, Hyderabad Deccan, Insha; 148 ; Daftar-i-Diwani, Hyderabad Deccan, No. 8 ; Rieu, Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, Or. 1739, Or. 1994.

[2] The excellent copy in the Habibganj library is wrongly named Riyad'l-Adab on the binding. Unfortunately the leaves are wrongly numbered after 62 which is followed by a repetition of No. 53 so there is a continuous mistake of 10 right up to the end. Ferishta calls the work Raudatu'l-Insha.

[3] Aziz Mirzā, Sīratu'l-Maḥmūd, Badāyūn, 1927 ; Zahīru'd-dīn, Maḥmūd Gāwān, Hyderabad Deccan, 1927.

'Ubaidu'l-lāh el-Aḥrār, 'Alī el-Yezdī, Maulānā Kamālu'd-dīn Rūmī and others, in some of which long and detailed descriptions of the occurrences in the Deccan are given.

Of these, 33 letters have reference to the Khwājā's private life; thus one (No. 21) refers to his arrival in India in the reign of 'Alāud'-dīn Aḥmad II, three (Nos. 21, 49, 143) have reference to his political training in Humāyūn's court, and three allude to the short reign of Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad III. But the great mass of letters belongs to the time of Muhammad Shah Lashkarī, and it would be convenient to deal with these seriatim in connection with the occurrences which they relate:

The Malwa campaign:

Policy of encirclement:

Alliance with Gujrat—Preliminaries—Nos. 116—138.

Reference to a letter to the King of Jaunpūr—No. 24.

Signature and ratification of the Gujrat alliance—No. 50.

Alliance with Jaunpūr—No. 64.

The King of Gujrat is requested for a diversion against Malwa—Nos. 12, 84.

Maḥmūd Gāwāñ goes to Fatḥābād on the Khāndesh border—No. 16.

Threat to Malwa of a prolongation of the war and the beginning of negotiations—Nos. 19, 74, 75, 83, 93.

Letter to the King of Malwa—Peace—No. 85.

The campaign in the Konkan and the Malabar coast: (all the letters in this connection are from the actual theatre of war):

The itinery adopted with dates—Nos. 8, 9, 12, 13, 33, 37, 38, 39, 41, 44, 47, 48, 51, 53, 58, 72, 86, 88, 89, 96.

Intrigues at the court against the Khwājā's reputation—Nos. 47, 49, 65, 68, 88.

Lack of financial help and man-power—No. 89.

Death of the Queen Dowager—No. 7.

Although some of these letters are directly historical in character in that they were written in order to describe the actual happenings or else form part of the diplomatic correspondence of the Deccan, still some others are long private epistles written to friends or relative, and historical points can only be gleaned from them only after a study of their contents. Even those letters which are of a diplomatic character and relate to foreign relations of the Bhamnai State, such as the ones to the King of Gujrat and the Malwese ministers and envoys, are epistles with what seem to us immoderately long commencements and forms of address sometimes going on to a number of pages, a feature which would be regarded as very cumbersome nowadays but which was commonly current before the all too short manner of writing crept in.

As has been mentioned above, the otherwise excellent copy of the Riyād, which I have utilised does not contain the colophon, but most of the other copies in the public libraries of the world have the year of the transcription clearly appended, and some of these, like the one in the Bibliothéque Nationale of Paris, were written within a few years of the Khwaja's death.[1] This leads to the question of the

[1]Blochet, p. 399. The copy No. 689 was written in 911/1506, *i.e.*, within 20 years of the Khwājā's death.

authenticity of the letters in question. The first thing to say about the matter is that their authenticity has never been questioned either by European or Oriental authors. Then apart from the internal evidence which is amply forthcoming, there is positive external evidence of their authenticity. Among the four letters in the collection addressed to Muḥammad II the Conqueror of Constantinople there is one, No. 142, the main theme of which is the praise of the Conqueror for his eminent deeds of valour. Now this letter with certain minor variations,[1] is found *verbatim* in 'the copies of letters of Muhammad II and Bayezid II to the Shahs of Persia and other princes and eminent men with their answers from A.H. 848 to 913', a manuscript which is preserved in the British Museum[2]. The letter in question is on folos. 45 to 47 with the reply from the Sultan-Conqueror on folos. 47 to 49. In the preface to this Ms. there is a note in Turkish to the effect that the *kisahdar* or Purse-Bearer Muḥammad el-Qudsī found the book on sale and induced the Reïsu'l-Kuttāb or Head of the Secretariat to purchase it and keep it in the Imperial Archives. This note is dated 1165/1752.

Rieu, the learned compiler of the catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum, says that these letters "really form a portion of the cast catalogue, of Imperial letters, the Munsha'atu's-Salātīn, compiled by Nishānji Aḥmad Farīdūn."[3] The Munsha'ātu's-Salātīn was separately published at Constantinople in two volumes aggregating 1226 closely printed pages, in 1264-1265/1857-1858, and the letter in question is found on page 258 of the first volume. Although without doubt the main body of the letter in the Ms. and the printed compendium is identical it is evident that the letter in the Munsha'āt has not been *copied* from the collection picked up by Muḥammad el-Qudsī at an auction hall in 1165/1752, but, as is categorically stated at the end of the second volume, the material was copied from the complete manuscript in possession of a certain Muḥammad Labīb. Even the minor differences between the two go to prove that the two works have distinct sources. As an instance might be mentioned that while the Turkish heading of the letter in the B. M. manuscipt reads: "This letter was sent to Sultan Muḥammad Ghāzī by the writer Khwājā-i Jahān on behalf of the Indian King Muḥammad Shāh Bahmani"[4], the corresponding letter in the Munsha'āt is headed: "This letter was sent to the sill of His Imperial Majesty Lord of Victories and Battles, Sultān Muḥammad Shāh Ghāzī whose abode is in paradise, by Khwājā-i Jahāñ on behalf of Bahman Shāh."[5] Although the contents of the letters in the collection are almost identical it is clear that if one had only been a *copy* of the other the headings and the wordings would have been exactly the same. Thus both the external and internal evidence leads us to say that the two collections are distinct.

We thus know that the letter No. 142 in the Riyādu'l-Inshā a work then entirely unknown in Turkey is identical to a large extent with the corresponding letters in two distinct collections, *viz.*, the letter on folo. 45 of the B. M. Manuscript collection and that on page 258 of the Munsha'āt, Vol. I, so that the conclusion is irrefutable that the letter is genuine and the collection in which it is found consists of letters from the Khwāja himself. And this conclusion is also irresistable because every one of these 145 letters is written with the feelings of the man who was the

[1] Thus the commencement of the letters is slightly different and there are a few verbal differences.

[2] B. M. Or., 61.

[3] Rieu, 394 *a*.

[4] و نامهٔ لي سلطان محمد غازي يه هند پادشاهي محمد شاه بهمني گوندر مشدر خواجه جهان انشاسيله ابوالفتح والغازي جنت مكان سلطان محمد خان غازي درگاهند خواجه جهان انشاسيله هند پادشاهي بهمني شاه طرفندن

[5] Munsha'at, II, 258; reply, 260.

main actor or victim of the facts contained in it, full of all his enthusiasm, his discontent with certain arrangements, and with all the details so dear to him. The fact again, that certain details are repeated to different persons, and the topography described in them is correct—all this proves that these letters are not mere dictional exercises but epistles from the fields of political and military action. They are valuable to the historian not only in giving the inner psychology of the man who was the mainstay of the Bahmani Kingdom during a large part of his sojourn in this land, but also in giving the actual dates and months of the occurrences which, when joined on to the years which we might know from other sources, can give a very accurate account of the succession of events in that remote era.

Appendix

List of headings of letters in the Riyadu'l-Insha

(According to the copy in the library of Nawwāb Sadr Yār Jang Bahādur at Habībganj, District Aligarh.)

Serial	Addressee	Folio.
	Introduction	1*b*
1.	Shaikh Sadru'd-din Rawāsī	9
2.	Maulānā Ābdu'r-Rahmān Jāmī	11
3.	Ḵhwājā 'Ubaidu'l-lāh el-Ahrār	13
4.	Sultān Abū Sa'īd Gūrgān	15*b*
5.	Sultān Muhammad II of Turkey	18*b*
6.	Sultan Ā'lāu'd-dīn of Gīlān	20
7.	„ „ „ „	24
8.	One of the ministers	26
9.	His brother at Gīlān	27*b*
10.	„ „ „ „	30*b*
11.	Sharafu'd-dīn Alī el-Yezdī	34
12.	On behalf of Muhammad Shāh Bahmani to Mahmūd Shāh of Gujrāt	37*b*
13.	Sultān Muhammad of Gīlān	38*b*
14.	His brother.	42*b*
15.	„ „	45*b*
16.	'Āmīdu'l-Mulk	47
17.	From his brother	49
18.	On behalf of Muhammad Shāh Bahmani to Mahmūd Shah of Gujrat	51*b*
19.	Shaikh Dāwūd of Malwa	52*b*
20.	'Āmīdu'l-Mulk	54
21.	To the Sultan of Gilan	54*b*
22.	His brother.	57*b*
23.	On behalf of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī to Mahmūd Shāh of Gujrat	62
24.	One of the Ministers	62*b*
25.	His son Alaf Ḵhān	64
26.	„ „ „	64*b*
27.	Maulānā Shamsu'd-dīn Muhammad Lārī	65*b*
28.	Ābdu'l-Malik	66
29.	Maulānā Abu Sa'id	67
30.	Syed Mahdī Tabīrīzi	67*b*
31.	A minister of Muhammad II of Turkery	68
32.	Ḵhwājā 'Ubaidu'l-lāh el-Ahrār	70*b*
33.	A minister	71
34.	„ „	72*b*
35.	His son 'Ālī, Maliku'l-Tujjār	74
36.	„ „ „ „	76*b*
37.	Maulana A'bdu'r-Rahmān Jāmī	79
38.	The Sultān of Gīlān	81*b*
39.	Maulānā 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Jāmī	86*b*
40.	A friend at Ḵhurāsān	90
41.	Maulana Kamālu'd-dīn Rūmī	91

APPENDIX—*contd.*

Serial.	Addressee.	Folio.
42.	A friend at Ḵhurāsān	92
43.	Ḵhwājā 'Ubaidu'l-lāh al-Ahraār	93
44.	"One of the most learned of the time"	94
45.	One of the ministers	94*b*
46.	His son Alaf Ḵhān	95
47.	One of the Deccan ministers	96
48.	One of the relatives	97
49.	Sadr Jahān	97*b*
50.	The Envoy from Gujārat	99
51.	One of his relatives	100*b*
52.	One of the Sydes	101
53.	Sultān 'Alāud-din of Gīlān	101*b*
54.	Balghar Shāh	104*b*
55.	Sultān Muhammad II of Turkey	106
56.	Jahān Shāh Lārī	108
57.	Maulānā 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Jāmī	109*b*
58.	'Amīdu'l-Mulk	111
59.	"One of the most learned of the time"	112
60.	Hadrat Mūru'd-dīn 'Abdu'l-lāh	113
61.	Sultān Muhammad of Gīlān	113*b*
62.	Sultān 'Alāu'd-dīn of Gīlān	117
63.	Maulānā 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Jāmī	120*b*
64.	On behalf of Muhammad Shāh Bahmani to Mahmud Shāh of Gujrat	123
65.	"One of his most learned friends"	124
66.	On behalf of Muhammad Shāh Bahmani to Mahmud Shāh of Gujrat	124*b*
67.	His nephew 'Amīdu"l-Mulk	125
68.	Nizāmu'l-Mulk	125*b*
69.	"One of the most learned"	126*b*
70.	Qādi Sharafu'd-dīn Sadr Jahān	127
71.	His son Alaf Ḵhān	128
72.	Islām Ḵhān	129
73.	His nephew 'Amīdu'l-Mulk	130
74.	Shaikh Dāwūd of Māndū	130*b*
75.	One of the Malwese ministers	131*b*
76.	One of his friends	132
77.	His son Alaf Ḵhān	132*b*
78.	" " " "	134
79.	" " " "	134*b*
80.	On behalf of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī to Mahmud Shāh of Gujrāt	135
81.	His son Alaf Ḵhaān	136
82.	Maulānā Abū Sa'īd	136*b*
83.	Shaikh Mahmūd of Māndū	137
84.	On behalf of Muhammad Shāh Bahmani to Mahmūd Shāh of Gujrat	140
85.	On behalf of Muhammad Shāh Bahmani to Mahmūd Ḵhiljī of Malwa	141
86.	His nephew Burhānu'd-dīn Ibrāhīm	141*b*
87.	His son Alaf Ḵhān	143*b*

APPENDIX—*contd*

Serial.	Addressee.	Folio.
88.	To a certain minister	143*b*
89.	Qādi Sadr Jahān	146
90.	To a King	148
91.	His son 'Ali Maliku't-Tujjār	151
92.	,, ,, ,, ,,	152*b*
93.	A certain minister of Gīlān	153
94.	Khwājā Shamsu'd-dīn, Sahibi Dīwān	154*b*
95.	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	154*b*
96.	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	155
97.	Shaikh Mahmūd of Māndū	155*b*
98.	One of the King's daughters	157
99.	One of the ministers	158
100.	Sultān 'Alāud'-dībn of Gīlān	158*b*
101.	One of the pious men	161*b*
102.	Shaikh Bāyazīd el-Khalkhālī	163
103.	Sultān Muhammad of Gīlān	164*b*
104.	One of the most learned of the Syeds	166*b*
105.	One of the ministers	167*b*
106.	One of the Syeds	169
107.	One of the ministers	170
108.	Sultān 'Alī of Gīlān	171
109.	One of the Nobles	172*b*
110.	'Amīdu'l-Mulk	174*b*
111.	One of the Kings	175
112.	Sultān Husain	176*b*
113.	Sultān 'Alāu'd-dīn of Gīlān	177*b*
114.	One of his relatives	178*b*
115.	,, ,, ,,	179*b*
116.	On behalf of Muhammad Shāh Bahmani to Mahmūd Shāh of Gujrat	182*b*
117.	One of the ministers	182*b*
118.	,, ,, ,,	186
119.	One of his sons	190*b*
120.	One of his friends	190
121.	Sultan Abu Sa'īd	190*b*
122.	One of his relatives	192
123.	One of the brothers	192*b*
124.	One of the ministers	193
125.	One of the Sultāns	194
126.	One of the royal ladies	196*b*
127.	One of the royal princes	197*b*
128.	,, ,, ,, ,,	198*b*
129.	One of the learned persons	200
130.	One of the Sultāns	200*b*
131.	,, ,, ,,	203*b*
132.	The Sultān of Egypt	205*b*
133.	Sultan Husain of 'Irāq	206*b*

APPPENDIX---*concld.*

Serial.	Addressee.	Folio.
134.	One of the Sultāns	208
135.	One of the Kings	209
136.	One of the Kings	209*b*
137.	His nephew	211
138.	On behalf of Muhammad Shāh Bahmani to Mahmūd Shāh of Gujrat	211*b*
139.	Maulānā Ismā'īl.	212
140.	One of the learned men	213
141.	On behalf of Muhammad Shāh Bahmani to Sultān Muhammad II of Turkey	214
142.	Sultaān Muhammad II of Turkey	215
143.	One of his relatives	217
144.		220
145.		221*b*

HISTORY IN THE MAPS AND GOVERNMENT RECORDS RELATING TO THE ISLAND OF SERINGAPATAM.

[By Dr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri, M. A., Ph. D. (London), F. R. Hist. S.]

Introduction.

The writer of this paper discovered a map of Seringapatam dated 1775, in 1938 at Bombay after the closing of the Indian Historical Records Commission Session at Poona. This map differed entirely from all other maps of the island known so far and attracted the attention of the Mysore Palace and Government when it was known to them. Photographic copies were immediately made and distributed among the Palace, the Government, and the Mysore University libraries. This map is, as things are, the earliest of all the available ones and belongs to a time when Tipu was yet his father's son.

There is also another map in the author's possession, which is rather rare. It belongs to 1885 and was reproduced in 1897. It is also very reliable.

A number of maps of Seringapatam have been published lately, that of 1937 published in outline by the Government of Mysore being the latest. It may be stated at once that all of these differ little materially from one another and belong to a type.

It is proposed to compare the three maps of 1775, 1885 and 1937 and draw a few conclusions.

Secondly, the island of Seringapatam has always been financially a losing concern. Although there is no current interest in the subject, it is yet relevant to show with the aid of detailed figures that the huge loss to the Government of Mysore on account of this land was cheerfully borne. Correspondence on the affairs of Seringapatam have been published and are open to students of history. But actual figures of annual losses for several years before 1861 are not available.

It is proposed also to give out these figures.

The author hopes finally to interpret all these separate and different conclusions and draw a few general propositions in the manner of throwing some new light on the history of the island of Seringapatam.

History in the maps.

The map of 1775 shows a number of pagodas, Brahman tanks, forts, bridges and palaces. The fortification of the town appears to be perfect under the management of Tipu Saib who lives in his own south-facing house in front of the parade ground. The French have not yet arrived. Hyder is a Nabob with a house on the spot known now as Tipu's Palace and with a garden of his own on the site where Dariya Dowlat stands. There are nearly six magazines, each situated near the battery which it means to serve. The sally ports are clearly marked, one exclusively used by the Brahmans.

The map of 1885 contains the Great Mosque on the site of an ancient pagoda, a Dungeon in place of the Little Tank of the Brahmans, but nothing either of the Delhi (or Agrahara) bridge or the old Periapatna bridge, nothing also of the old palace and the garden of the Hindu Kings or the house of the Mussalman usurpers, nor any sign of Nanjaraj's house and temple. The Elephant Gate, Dariya Daulat and Gumbuz, a miserable patch of a town known as Ganjam with the Catholic Church of the Abbe Dubois, heaps of monuments for the dead, and a Breach at the

north-western angle of the fort are the features of this map. In addition to these, there are references to the De Havilland's Arch, Wellesley Bridge, Scott's Bungalow and other tit-bits. There is a town called French Rocks in the neighbourhood.

The map of 1937 adds a Memorial Hall, a Coronation Building, a Bathing Ghat, a Travellers' Bungalow, and a Railway station.

Putting all these facts together, the following four conclusions become inevitable :—

(1) In spite of all that has happened, Seringapatam continues to be a centre of Vaishnavite Brahmanism.

(2) The Hindu sovereigns of Mysore were illustrious in their adherence to the ideal of dharma.

(3) Hyder was fond of gardening which his son developed.

(4) Tipu Sultan must have been a very impulsive person.

Perhaps every one of these statements requires argument :—

(1) It is worthy of notice that the place is still called Sri-Ranga-pattana. The temple of Ranganatha is prominent. The religious head of Melkote still governs the pandits of the place. The ancient Rajas of Mysore professed Vaishnavism from the time of their arrival at Seringapatam and are still affiliated to it. Islam and Christianity have no roots here and the Great Mosque itself was built on the foundation of a Hanuman temple in the crowded or populous side of the town.

(2) Even a casual visitor to the island will note the numerous public works of and the utter absence of pomp and glamour in the ancient and modern Rajas of Mysore. Water was supplied to the island by a channel known as the Bangara Doddi canal. For heavy traffic there were three bridges across the Kaveri, the one in the north known as Agrahara bridge and the others in the south by the name of Old and New Periapatna bridges. The Brahmans had their own gates and tanks. Private worshipping was allowed. In the temple of Narasimha, the King who built it stands as a humble servant before the god. In the nineteenth century a special reservoir, a new set of kalasas or pinnacles, and a renovated tower were given by the Rajas to Ranganatha temple, seeing that the Narasimha-swami temple had fallen on evil days. More recently a new bathing ghat, a rest-house and numerous amenities were provided for the pilgrims. It may be relevant to add that the Rajas of Mysore have left marks of affection towards the British in the Scott's Bungalow (built by and for the Maharaja but occupied and left vacant in memory of one Col. Scott), the Wellesley Bridge and the Coronation Hall.

(3) Thirdly, Hyder's problem of the island was the proper utilisation of the vacant ground to the extent of several square miles beyond the Bangalore Gate. He created a garden almost in front of this and a civil station known as Ganjam at a distance of a furlong further on. The remainder of the island was filled by his son with a Lal-Bagh and a Mausoleum. The land along the southern branch of the Kaveri was considered, as in Benares, not auspicious enough for good acts and it was therefore converted from Paschimavahini to the Gumbaz into a purificatory area or burial and cremation ground. It is a point to notice that the fort proper contains no monument of cultural

importance belonging to Hyder and Tipu's days. Not even the plan of Seringapatam town was altered by them, the present main roads crossing then as now at right angles and dividing it into four quarters. The influence of Versailles was so perfect that the suburb received all the attention while the city had none.

This is easily explained otherwise. Tipu appears to have been deeply interested in military science and art. The maps point to many an example of his defensive works. Construction of inner walls and trenches, the drawbridge at the Bangalore Gate, the south-eastern cavalier and battery, the Elephant Gate, the increased number of powder magazines and prison-houses and vaults, and the flag-staff cavalier are instances to the point. The treaty of 1792 helped only to force more blood into Tipu's head and make him think more vigorously about military affairs and foreign policy.

(4) Taking only the monuments into consideration, Tipu differed from Hyder entirely in his personal character. The so-called Sabal-Rani-Tittu is a magnification of an ever present, universal, inexorable theme which, being extremely small, only the blind will see. There is no sense of humour associated with it. The Great Mosque is a great mosque, but the site was not wisely chosen. The Raja's palace was levelled to the ground and its decorations were transferred to Tipu's palace. This was an act of gross provocation which led directly to retaliation in the hands of the British immediately after his fall. The little tank reserved for the Brahmans was cleverly converted into a shell-proof shelter, but it need not have been further converted into a dungeon for the British prisoners. Tipu added a Nagar-Khana to the temple of Ranganatha, but he built it on the top of the Utsava-mantapa. He removed the tower (gopuram) of Narasimha temple and carried out a few of executions within it. But destruction of that temple would have proved better than defilement both to his own reputation and to the popularity of that institution. Conviction is inevitable that by all these acts Tipu behaved in day-to-day matters more on impulses than on reason and judgment.

History in the Government Records.

The following are figures relating to the loss incurred by the Mysore Government on account of the renting of Seringapatam :—

Rent = Rs. 50,000.

1831-32	C. P.	8,376	6 3
1832-33	,,	....	not known.
1833-34	,,	7,904	6 10¼
1834-35	,,	8,227	3 10¾
1835-36	,,	7,946	7 15¼
1836-37	,,	7,946	7 15¼
1837-38	,,	9,447	1 13
1838-39	,,	8,763	4 6
1839-40	,,	7,665	6 4¼
1840-41	,,	8,259	9 8¾
1841-42	,,	9,551	8 ¼
1842-43	,,	9,469	7 1¼
1843-44	,,	8,861	9 2¼
1844-45	,,	9,197	0 6¼
1845-46	,,	9,852	6 15
1846-47	,,	9,647	3 6¼

1847-48	C. P.	10,911	3 6$\frac{2}{4}$
1848-49	,,	10,304	7 9$\frac{2}{4}$
1849-50	,,	10,032	0 7$\frac{3}{4}$
1850-51	,,	10,952	7 10$\frac{1}{4}$
1851-52	,,	11,192	1 13$\frac{1}{4}$
1852-53	,,	11,753	2 2$\frac{1}{4}$
1853-54	Rs.	29,786	2 4
1854-55	,,	34,954	4 4
1855-56	,,	36,549	8 4
1856-57	,,	35,134	5 3
1857-58	,,	32,852	1 2

It will be noticed that in twenty-seven years out of Rs. 13·5 lakhs due to the British Government Rs. 7·6 lakhs was paid by Mysore out of her other resources. Bowring said that for forty years from 1829 Mysore had realised only Rs. 8·8 lakhs but paid about Rs. 20 lakhs.

General Conclusions.

The first historical fact about the island is that Nature did not mean it to be either the Capital of an Empire or a strong Fortress against enemies. It is just a centre of pilgrimage to the Hindus.

Secondly, it is a land of defeats and deaths, political revolutions and treachery were possible only in a place like Seringapatam because life was as in a city-state subject to daily observation and criticism. The bilious character of its climate should have aroused jealousy much quicker here than in any other place. The change of capital therefore after 1799 to Mysore was not only a source of power and prestige to the ancient dynasty but the foundation of its better days in the nineteenth century and after. Seringapatam signifies bad luck and loss.

A third point to note in the history of the island is that economically it is a burden to the state. The income and expenditure cannot be balanced. As the climate is extremely insalubrious, neither agriculture nor industry and commerce can be improved. Gardening is a possibility from the historical point of view. But this is not a highly paying business.

The final impression left by the history of the place is that it has no future whatever. After a lapse of another twenty-five years the interest indicated by the visiting political historians or tourists will decline still further. Only the military historian of India will find an attraction to the place, but even he will ignore it after his work will be over.

TWO MARATHI DOCUMENTS FROM MYSORE.

[By Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt. and Mr. V. Raghavendra Rao, M.A., B.T.]

DOCUMENT I.

PARTITION DEED BETWEEN YESHWANT RAO HOLKAR AND DOULAT RAO SINDHIA.

This letter was found in the Mysore Government Secretariat at Bangalore, among the bundles of papers sent thither a few years ago by the British Residency at Bangalore Cantonment.

The seals and signatures of the contracting parties are not found in it; nor is the date of the document given. But the paper is brown with age and the Marathi writing is presumably contemporary. Probably the document is a secret copy of the original deed.

If corroborated by evidence elsewhere, this document would be of importance. It shows that the two greatest rivals for power in Maharashtra also tried to come to a common understanding for mutual benefit and also to maintain the integrity of the Maratha Confederation. At one time, even after the death of the Mahadaji Sindhia, his successors saw the need for united action and mutual conciliation.

In this valuable document, Raghoji Bhonsle is found acting as the mediator between Sindhia and Holkar for the common good of the Maratha Confederacy and maintenance of " Hindu-Dharma ". A translation is given below of the contents of the document.

Translation.

First settlement was effected at Nagapur by Sri Yadava Rao Bhaskar ; Holkar was dissatisfied with it. The problem was the division of territories worth one crore, sixty lakhs, and Rs. 18,341 and 2½ As. (Rs. 1,60,18,341-2½).

Again Raghoji Bhonsle intervened for the sake of the integrity of the Peshva's Government and gave his decision thus :—

A copy of this must be sent to the relations of Khande Rao Holkar.

2. Territories handed over to the Pant Pradhan are to be divided again and given over to Khande Rao Holkar.

3. Territories escheated in Desh, Malwa, and Hindustan are to be released and levies of tribute returned. The documents of restoration are to be handed over to the Bhonsle Raje. Mutual losses must be written off.

4. Khasi Rao Holkar must be handed over ; and the documents given to him are also to be returned.

5. Annual tributes from subordinate rajas must continue, as in the days of Ranoji Bava Sindhia ; and they should be distributed, as in his days, impartially.

6. The grants of money from the Emperor and the territories obtained in lieu thereof are to be divided impartially.

7. The division of such lands shall be done by the Bhonsle. The expenses of partition must be borne by both.

8. This settlement must be reported to the Peshwa for his final approval.

9. The division of territories by revered father Madhaji Sindhia has not been maintained. The conquered territories were usually divided among both of us after deducting the expenses. The same principle must be continued.

10. All misunderstandings with the Pant Pradhan should be cleared and both should live in friendship.

11. The conquered territories are to be divided between us and supervised by both of us.

12. We must both control Delhi; the Vazirath enjoyed by the Peshwa till now, must be exercised by one of us, with Agra as our headquarters.

13. All of us must follow Hindu-Dharma. The honour of the Peshwa Srimant Pant Pradhan must be maintained unimpaired.

Document II.

A news letter found in Yashwant Rao Holkar's camp at Aurangabad 19th Moharam Tuesday.

In this letter also no signature is found; but there is no reason to doubt that it is a genuine contemporary copy of the original document.

The events mentioned in this letter must have taken place after the Nizam entered into the subsidiary alliance in order to save himself from the constant attacks of the Marathas. The latter felt that they were baulked of their prey and intended marching on Hyderabad to collect the annual tribute to the Maratha State. To escape this the Nizam welcomed the British alliance.

Contents of Document II.

1. Sindhia is reported to have come to Bushanpur. Yeshwant Rao's letters also were received in the camp.

During the march, Sindhia's lands are not to be harassed.

2. Bhonsle of Nagapur has come near. His army is led by Vithal Pant Subedhar and is camping at Wardha.

3. The Moghul army (Nizam) under Joraawar Khan and Subhan Khan is camped above the ghat; another section is about to march on Poona.

4. Holkar, Sindhia and Bhonsle must meet in a friendly manner on the bank of the Ganges. This is the desire of Yeshwant Rao. If the other two agree, all should combine and march on Hyderabad.

5. A secret mission from the Moghul has been received by Yeshwant Rao. But it must be for the *good of all the three.* Even if a crore or two is necessary, that must be spent. This is the immediate need of the State.

THE NAVY OF THE GAEKWARS.

(By Mr. R. K. Ranadive, M. A.)

I am reading this paper at the suggestion of our learned Secretary, Dr. Sen. When he was here in August last, he pointed out that very little was known about the navy of the Gaekwars and that it was necessary that research students should have more information on the subject. The information available is indeed scanty and has to be collected from different sources. Such as the available information is, is presented in this paper for the information of scholars in a more or less chronological order.

2. We are obliged to Dr. Sen for giving us a lucid account of the naval system of the Marathas in his work on the Military System of the Marathas. His chapters on the beginning of the Maratha Navy and on Piracy or Sovereignty of the sea are especially illuminating. He points out that one of the reasons which induced Shiwaji Chatrapati to establish a navy was the necessity of checking the Siddis of Danda Rajpuri or Janjira. He speaks of the purpose of the Maratha Navy established by Shiwaji in these words :—

> "Prudence dictated and foresight suggested that he (Shiwaji) should equip a fighting fleet of his own to protect his people, to punish his enemies, to provide for the prosperity of his ports and to secure for himself and his subjects a share of the maritime trade. It was not his aim to secure the freedom of the sea against the world ; He was quite content to share the sovereignty with his neighbours". (1)

The Siddis were powerful not only at Janjira but also at Surat where they were the admirals of the Moghul fleet stationed there and as Dr. Sen points out on the authority of Khafikhan, Shiwaji had early seized the ports of Jiwal, Pabal and others near Surat (2). These places are not easily identifiable and we do not know whether any part of the Maratha fleet was stationed near Surat in Shiwaji's time or in the time of his successors. But we find definite mention of a Maratha fleet near Surat in the records of about 1730. In the historical account of Surat in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II, it is stated that since the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign (1661) the post of the admiral of the Moghul fleet had been held by the Siddis of Janjira but that "of late years (*i.e.* about 1734) thepower 'of the Siddis had declined ; and that their fleet had shown itself no match for the Maratha fleet and they were even now by their own confession unable to protect the shipping of Surat". (3).

3. The position at Surat at this time was this. In 1719, Pilajirao Gaekwar established his headquarters at the Fort of Songadh. This fort was situated in the limits of what was then known as the Sarkar of Surat, and from here Pilajirao's conquests extended northwards. By 1730, he had deprived the Moghuls of all the territories north and south of Surat comprised in this Sarkar. We have it from the Mirat-i-Ahmedi (4) that under the Moghuls the administration of the Surat Sarkar sometimes belonged to the mutsaddhi of that place but it often formed part of the administration of the province of Gujarat with its headquarters at Ahmedabad. Under the mutsaddi or the provincial Governor there used to be the commandant of the castle and admiral of the Moghul fleet

(1) The Military system of the Marathas, p. 175.
(2) *Ibid*, p. 176.
(3) Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 118.
(4) Mirat-i-Ahmedi supplement English translation by Seddon and Nawab Ali, pp. 187-88 and 201.

appointed by the Court of Delhi. The author of the Mirat-i-Ahmedi states that the Surat Sarkar had 31 divisions—paraganas or mahals (districts) and ports. He has given a list of these 31 divisions. The city of Surat was reckoned as one division and outside the city there were 28 paraganas also called mahals which were known locally as Surat Athavishi which translated means the 28 paraganas under Surat. The major ports were two—Broach and Surat (Suali). Under the port of Surat were certain minor ports : these were Jalalpur, Parchol, Bulsar, Navsari, Maroli, Gandevi (Billimora), Chikhli and Sarbhon all to the south of Surat. They were all conquered by Pilajirao by 1730.

4. In 1733 Teg Bakht Khan became the Governor of Surat and assumed the title of Nawab. His authority was confined to the city of Surat and no territory beyond its walls had been left to him. Though he had gone through the form of appointment by the Delhi Court he was from the first independent. The old division of power between the Governor of the town and the Commandant of the castle had ceased. On his accession to power, Teg Bakht Khan found his revenues insufficient for his wants. To improve the state of his finances he adopted three courses (1) he made an arrangement with Pilajirao's successor Damajirao Gaekwar for a share in the revenues derived from the districts once under Surat, (2) he attempted to evade the payment of the subsidy to the Siddi Admiral of the fleet and (3) he imposed new taxes on the trade of Surat which was then in the hands of the English and the Dutch East India Companies. Teg Bakht Khan was not in a position to oust Damajirao from the mahals of the Surat Athavishi. He accordingly entered into negotiations with him and an agreement was concluded in 1734 under which on the promise of an yearly assignment of Rs. 2,36,000 in his favour, Teg Bakht Khan engaged to allow Damajirao to hold the districts and exercise authority in them. In his attempt to keep for himself a part of the subsidy due to the Siddi, Teg Bakht Khan was helped by a contest between the English and the Siddi for the post of Admiral. As already stated the power of the Siddis had at this time entirely declined and his fleet had ceased to be a match for the Maratha fleet. Under these circumstances, the English were endeavouring from time to time after the revenue settlement between the Nawab and the Gaekwar to obtain for themselves the position and revenue of the Admirals at Surat. The Siddi was however their ally and an ally whom in the growing power of the Marathas they could ill-afford to offend. Hence they were unwilling for a time to attempt to gain the position by force. The failure of the negotiations from time to time caused a mutual dislike in the mind of Teg Bakht Khan and his successors on the one hand and the English on the other. ([5]).

5. The above narrative is taken from the Surat Gazetteer and the references in it are to "The Maratha Fleet". This is natural as Shahu Chhatrapati was then living and Damajirao was representing him as the deputy of the Senapati. There is no doubt however that the fleet mentioned was under the control of Damajirao Gaekwar. In the Bharatvarsha Shakavali, we find a letter dated 5th July 1733 ([6]) from Raja Shahu to Umabai Dabhade and Damajirao Gaekwar informing them that Shahu had undertaken a campaign against Janjira and that help was being sent to the Siddi there by Siddi Masud of Surat ; and asking them to intercept Siddi Masud's forces and prevent them from joining those of the Siddi at Janjira. There is another letter dated 22nd August 1733 ([7]) from Shahu Chhatrapati to Damajirao on the same subject, again directing him to see that Siddi Masud was not able to send any assistance to the besieged at Janjira or Anjanwel. These letters make it quite clear that the fleet near Surat was under the control of

([5]) Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 116 to 118.
([6]) Reprinted at p. 17 of the Baroda Historical Selections.
([7]) Itihas Sangraha Aitihasik Tipane—reprinted at p. 17 of Baroda Historical Selections.

Damajirao Gaekwar. It is true that there is no reference in them to any fleet as such ; but the only means of preventing Siddi Masud from helping his kinsman at Janjira was by checking him with the help of a fleet near Surat. Besides for maintaining his hold on the districts south and north of Surat Damajirao must have found it necessary to have a fleet of his own. In a letter written in 1735-36 to the Surat authorities (8) about his claim to Chauth in Surat Shahu says the land customs round about Surat was under Damaji and the sovereignty of the sea vested in him (Shahu) (जलमार्ग दर्या सरकारचा अमल). In the history of the Maratha campaign against Bassein in 1739, recently published by Mr. Y. N. Kelkar there is mention (9) of a Gaekwad's Contingent having taken part in the operations against Dharavi in Salsette. This most probably was a naval contingent as naval operations were involved. Ten or eleven years later we come across a definite mention of a fleet under Damajirao Gaekwar. I refer to the documents from the Bombay records published by Father Gense and Dr. Banaji under the caption "Damaji's fleet"(10). The Surat factors had received a proposal from the Dutch directors that a joint expedition should be undertaken against Damajirao's fleet which was cruising under the command of the Billimora Pandit Appaji Gopal. They referred this proposal to their superiors at Bombay who stated that Damajirao was not a public enemy and that his fleet if it was cruising to the south of Surat cannot with propriety be molested. The proposal to attack this fleet appears to have been an intrigue of the Siddis in conjunction with the Dutch directors and happily nothing came out of it after the explanation given by the Bombay Chief. There is nothing to indicate that Appaji Gopal was cruising against the will of his master as appears to be suggested. What is relevent here is that the Maratha fleet near Surat referred to in the earlier records was none other than the fleet under the control of the Gaekwar stationed at Billimora a port about forty miles south of Surat formerly included in the Sarkar of Surat and conquered by the Pilajirao Gaekwar some time between 1719 and 1730.

6. To resume the history of Surat, Teg Bakht Khan died in 1746 and next year his successor Mai-Uddin Khan ceded one fourth share of the revenues of the city and port of Surat to Damajirao Gaekwar in return for his assistance. Vakharkhan, the son of his rival Safdar Khan subsequently increased this share to half. Finally, in 1751 when Safdar Khan succeeded in resuming charge of the city he made a compromise with Damajirao that one-third of the revenues instead of one-half should in future be paid to him. (11).

7. Next year *i.e.* in 1752, Damajirao came to an agreement with the Peshwa by which he divided his acquisitions in Gujerat equally between himself and the Peshwa. There is on the records of the Baroda State a document of great historical value—the summary of the partition of Gujerat prepared by Haripant Phadke, the Minister of the Peshwa in 1768 (12). (This is a copy obtained from the Poona Records in 1811 A. D.). From the portion of this document relating to Surat Athavishi, we learn that the assignments made in favour of Teg Bakht Khan in 1734 were called Moglai and the revenues enjoyed by the Gaekwar and now divided between the Peshwa and the Gaekwar were called Swaraj. These assignments were both in the Parganas transferred to the Peshwa and in those retained by the Gaekwar. The total Moglai in the Peshwa's parganas was Rs. 80,000 and that from Gaekwar's Mahals was Rs. 1,60,000. The summary of the partition shows that the customs of all the parganas on the seaboard south of Surat whether in the share of the Gaekwar

(8) Life of Brahmendra-Swami by Parasnis, reprinted at p. 18 of the Baroda Historical Selections.
(9) Part, II p. 143.
(10) The Gaekwads of Baroda, Vol. I, pp. 70 *et seq.*
(11) Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 123 and 124.
(12) Unpublished State Records.

or in the share of the Peshwa were assigned to the Peshwa and the Gaekwar retained the customs of the Surat Athavishi Mahals north of Surat and of the inland Mahals south of Surat. The one-third share of the city of Surat was also equally divided between the Peshwa and the Gaekwar. The navy is naturally not mentioned in the partition as the partition related to territories and funds and not to military resources. From Damajirao's account of the revenues and expenses of his territories for the years 1752-1754 which is extant on the Baroda Records, it is however clear that the naval establishment was retained by the Gaekwar (13). It is known from other evidence that the Peshwa did not maintain any fleet on this sea-board. In the Surat Sarkar under the Moghuls there was division of jurisdiction in matters of customs or Jakat and Admiralty rights which were the concern of the Mir-i-Bahar or lord of the sea. The Peshwa by the partition got the Jakat rights and the Admiralty rights which carried with it the sovereignty of the sea remained with the Gaekwad. This is mentioned here as we shall see later on that this division led to some conflict between the Gaekwad's and Peshwa's officers who had concurrent authority in the same area whether territorially belonging to the Peshwa or the Gaekwad.

8. The authority of the East India Company in the administration of the city of Surat was first regularly established in 1759. With the acquiescence of the Nawab the Peshwa and the Gaekwad, the English Government undertook an expedition against the Siddi. The immediate grounds for this expedition are stated in the Surat Gazetteer to have been that the Siddis people had insulted some Englishmen and refused redress ; that the Siddi had proved himself unfit for his post as admiral, being unable to hold his own against the Maratha fleet. The Company's representatives then approached the Delhi Court for confirmation of the rights thus acquired by a *coup de main*—though the authority of the Moghul Emperor at Surat was then extinct. A perusal of the papers published by Sir G. W. Forrest at pp. 102-108 of his selections from the letters, despatches and other state papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat (Home Series, Vol. II) will show how the Chief of Surat was authorised by his superiors in Bombay to spend upto Rs. 40,000 to obtain the necessary documents from the court of Delhi and how when they arrived a parade was held and a salute fired to receive them. This was in August 1759. They then approached Damajirao Gaekwar to recognise the company as the commander of the fleet and to pay the Moglai assignments to them instead of to the Nawab or to the Siddi as before. Damajirao was then at Poona and the President and factors of Bombay instructed the ambassador who was then being sent there in August 1759 to see him and to arrive at an agreement with him so that there may no longer be a conflict between his fleet and the Surat fleet such as that which existed while the Siddi was in power. The ambassador interviewed Damajirao on Tuesday the 9th September and represented to him that as the Hon'ble Company had taken possession of Surat castle and there were some revenues annexed to it and for maintaining the fleet which lay in the country under his command he should issue orders for the Company's people collecting them ; and that as the Company were now become neighbours interested in the welfare of the country round about Surat, he should also by way of friendship issue orders to the commander of his fleet not to molest any vessels trading under the Hon'ble Company's protection. Damajirao readily issued the orders as asked for (14). The ambassador also obtained similar orders from the Peshwa for the payment of Moglai. Later on in the century, there was a regular treaty between the Maratha Confederates and the East India Company for the mutual protection of the shipping of their respective territories. (Articles XI and XII of the treaty of Salbai).

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(13) Baroda Historical Selections, p. 66.

(14) Selections from the State papers etc. preserved in the Bombay Secretariat by Sir G. W. Forrest pp. 135 and 137.

9. The effect of the arrangements made in 1759 on the political situation in Surat may be considered. The sovereignty of Surat then theoretically vested in the Navab and the English held the castle and the fleet on behalf of the Moghul Emperor and were receiving the emoluments from the Navab and the two Maratha Governments. The Siddi who had hitherto struck an independent line of action was eliminated and this removed a constant source of conflict. The authority in Surat and roundabout was now vested in four parties—the Navab, the English and the two Maratha Governments who were in view of the manner in which their rights originated styled the Chauthias. There was necessity for harmony and good will between all of them and there is evidence that such harmony and good will prevailed throughout the remaining part of the 18th century. The English and the Navab were dependent on the good will of the Maratha Governments for the regular receipt of the Moglai assignments. There are accounts on the records of this State of the Gaekwad's share in the revenues of Surat and one of these accounts shows how the revenues were collected. Certain portions of the Maratha revenues were for convenience farmed to the Navab and the remaining were collected by Mehtas or clerks of all the four parties sitting together. All revenues including customs, salt and admiralty receipts were shared. The arrangements made in 1759 should be considered in the light of what Dr. Sen says in regard to the sovereignty of the sea. Every Government maintaining a navy insisted on issuing its own passports to its own shipping and desired that these passports should be respected by their neighbours. This could only be achieved if there was an arrangement between the Governments concerned to respect each other's passports. Such an arrangement was attained in 1759 by the orders which Damajirao issued to the commanders of his fleet not to molest vessels trading under the Company's protection. Reciprocity was naturally granted and that is why we do not hear much of the Gaekwad's fleet after the arrangements made in 1759.

10. We do not hear of any warlike operations either, undertaken by the fleet. Any such operations which the fleet may have taken part in were confined to the period from 1730 to 1759 but there is no record in history of these. We know only of the result namely that the Siddi's fleet at Surat ceased to be a match for the Gaekwad's fleet. Perhaps the last of any warlike naval incidents was that indicated by a letter dated 10th October 1759 from Damajirao to the Peishwa Balaji Bajirao published in the Kavyetihas Sangraha ([15]). The Peishwa had informed him that he was engaged against Janjira and that it was reported that the pirates and the authorities at Jaferabad were loading men in ships in order to send assistance to relieve Janjira and requested him to prevent this aid from reaching its destination. Damajirao assured the Peishwa that such aid would be effectively prevented.

11. On the Baroda Records we have accounts dating from about 1795 to about 1875 of the Naval Establishment—Bunder Billimora Suba Armar. The system that we see from these accounts was that passports were issued and convoys were provided for the protection of the shipping of the area and for this purpose the armed vessels used to be kept in a fit condition. The accounts show that admiralty jurisdiction of the Baroda fleet extended over the whole strip of the coast and on the high sea south of Surat upto Bulsad. It will be recalled that here the Peishwa's officers had the whole jurisdiction in regard to Jakat—land and sea customs and salt —but no admiralty jurisdiction. In dealing with ships distinction was made between "kowli" and "be kowli" ships *i.e.* those with and those without proper passports. The right to challenge vessels which met the convoys or cruising vessels was exercised and those with proper passports were not molested. The vessels

([15]) Reprinted at p. 81 of the Baroda Historical Selections.

treated as " be kowli " were mostly from Portuguese India. The names of the dues recovered were :—

1. Kol or pass fee paid on leaving with cargo.
2. Wallawa or convoy fee.
3. Chaoni or fee for beaching in the monsoon also called Baithak.
4. Avria or Avardi.
5. Hudiuj.
6. Karkoon, fees for.
7. Bhet or presents.
8. Fag—a small fee paid during the Holi festival.

12. Some difficulty appears to have arisen owing to the divided jurisdiction in the coastal area south of Surat already referred to. As Dr. Sen points out that the custom about appropriation of wrecks in India at the time was not definite. The Peishwa's officers often mistook the rights for one of the customs jurisdiction while the Gaekwad's officers maintained that it was an admiralty right subject to the claims of proprietors of vessels to have the wreckages restored if proved to belong to them. Two such instances may be mentioned from the State records. In 1791 a vessel belonging to a merchant of Billimora was going to Bombay and was looted by the Peishwa's commander in his limits. The Baroda Government wrote to the Peishwa's Sar Suba to hand over the vessel and the goods to the State officer at Billimora ([16]). To this latter officer also instructions were simultaneously sent to hand over the vessel and the goods to the merchant or to compensate him for his loss.

13. In 1792 we find another letter ([17]) of the Baroda Government to the Kamavisdar of Bunder Billimora asking him to ascertain the custom as to the appropriation of goods from a vessel wrecked—whether the wreckage and the goods belonged to the authorities of the port in the limits of which the vessel was wrecked or to the port from which the vessel hailed—and to dispose of the particular case which called forth the letter according to the approved custom.

14. Another instance which occurred in 1802 is also interesting. I translate the extract relating to it from the Accounts ([18]).

> " Last year, *i.e.*, in the Arabic year 1203, *i.e.* (from June 1802 to 1803) a ship carrying cotton and belonging to a Parsee Mr. Navroji Manekji inhabitant of Surat, bound from Surat for Bombay, was wrecked on account of tempest, off Mewase harbour, and consequently salt-water entered it. It is true that Mewase Bunder ([19]) lies in the limits of Billimora Bundar, but in view of the long standing dispute about it, the Kamavisdar of Parchol of the Pant Pradhan (the Peishwa) took away the contents of the ship. The empty ship was burnt by Kamavisdar Laxman Janardan of the said harbour who collected the iron from it which weighed 10 maunds (Katcha). Then the said Parsee approached the Company Bahadur, obtained a letter from them and brought it before the Government. In compliance with the

([16]) Baroda Historical Selections, p. 320.

([17]) Baroda Historical Selections, p. 347.

([18]) Account for 1803-04.

([19]) Billimora itself is situated about fifteen miles inland on the Ambika river. On the sea coast there is a small harbour called Mewase which is a sub-port of Billimora.

Company's request the compensation due to the Parsee in lieu of the burnt ship amounted to —

Rs. 1,000—from the Revenue.

Rs. 300—from the amounts other than Revenues.

Rs. 1,300—(Total).

15. The divided authority in the city of Surat ceased in 1802. Two years before that *i.e.* in 1800, the East India Company entered into a treaty with the Nawab of Surat by which they agreed to exercise all the Nawab's authority in the city on payment of a pension to him of Rs. one lakh plus 1/5th of the net revenues. In 1802 when relations of intimate friendship were established between the Gaekwad and the English, the former ceded to the latter his share of the revenues of Surat and the Mahals of Chorasi (the paraganah surrounding the city) and Chikli. In the same year by the treaty of Bassein the Peishwa ceded to the East India Company his share in the city with all his rights and territories south of the Tapti including the Customs revenues of the area on the sea-board. Only the Gaekwad's admiralty rights in the Gaekwad's territory and in what now became British territory—Bundar Billimora Suba Armar—remained, and their exercise by the Gaekwad continued uninterrupted.

16. By this time piracy in the region round about Surat had ceased and the fleet appears to have automatically lapsed into inactivity though till a late period the armar cesses referred to above recovered on account of the protection given by the fleet continued to be levied. About 1845 some merchants from British India objected to their levy especially in British limits but the Surat authorities reported to the Government of Bombay that—

> " the Gaekwar was justified in taking the fees complained against, and that his rights extended over all the villages of the Parchole Pargana that are accessible from the sea by the Poorna, the Mawasa and the Ambika rivers *** ". " They are of the nature of Admiralty Rights and were probably usurped by the Marathas at some former period from the Emperors of Delhi prior to A. D. 1759, when the Surat Castle with the command of the Moghul Fleet, was ceded to the Hon'ble Company."

17. Though by the beginning of the nineteenth century piracy in the Surat area was extinct, it lingered on the Kathiawad coast. Here neither the British nor the Baroda Government had any port under their direct authority. In 1808, when therefore a joint expedition of British and Baroda troops was sent to Kathiawad under Col. Walker, Resident at Baroda, he obtained bonds from the Chiefs of Okhamandal and from the maritime States of Kathiawad renouncing piracy. In 1813 the Baroda Government acquired the parganah of Kodinar in which the port of Velan was situated. Here they established ([20]) a small fleet of four frigates with 12 pounder guns on each for the protection of the trade between Bombay and Sind. One Capt. Grant of the Bombay Naval Service was appointed to the command of this fleet. The names of the armed vessels under him were " Anandprasad ", " Sarsuba ", " Anamat Vart " and " Anne Maria ". This last named ship was purchased from the Shah of Iran and before the purchase bore the name of " Shah Kai Khusru ". Captain Grant once while proceeding from Velan to Amreli was subjected to privations in the Gir forest by the Kathi outlaws and probably never recovered from the effects of what he suffered. The accounts show that this fleet ceased to be in existence after 1830.

([20]) Baroda Historical Selections, pp. 685 and 769.

THE BOARD OF CONTROL.

[By. Dr. Prakash Chandra, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (London), F.R.H.S.].

As is well-known, the Government of India Act, 1784, established a dual Government in London for the administration of India. Till that date the administration had been wholly in the hands of the Court of Directors. No doubt on some important occasions Parliament had intervened to criticise the conduct of the East India Company, and claimed the right to supervise and regulate their affairs, but it was for the first time that in 1784 regular machinery was set up for this purpose. The day-to-day administration and the power of initiative were left in the hands of the Company(1), but a Board of Commissioners was appointed to 'superintend, direct, and control all acts, operations, and concerns which in any way relate to the civil or military government or revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East Indies'. In order that this body might discharge their function with adequacy and efficiency, it was laid down that all despatches received from India and those intended for that country should be submitted to them for their information and approval, and they were empowered to issue orders in relation to them which the Directors were called upon to obey.

How this system actually worked out in practice forms one of the most interesting and fruitful subjects of study. The ordinary text books of Indian History do not treat of it, because apparently it had no direct bearing on historical events. But the scheme repays study as a fine example of the way in which in politics compromise proves to be a better method than downright insistence on principles, however laudable. It is interesting also from another point of view. It just shows how any system of Government with all its illogicality and absurdity can be made to work by human ingenuity.

That the double Government inaugurated in 1784 was defective in the extreme cannot be denied. There was little in common between the Directors and the Board who were to share between them the direction and control of Indian policy. The aim of the Directors was a perpetuation of the Company's trade-monopoly and large commercial profits, that of the Minister the consolidation and extension of British rule in India and its final absorption in the British Empire.

The causes of conflict between the two were numerous. The Act vested all civil and military appointments without any reservation in the hands of the Directors. But their recall and supervision was a privilege of the Board. Further, from the start the Board attempted to have an effective say in the higher appointments, *i.e.* of the Governor-General the Governors and the Commanders-in-Chief. The Directors true to type were disposed to pay their servants meagre emoluments, while the Ministers desirous of having a contented and honest civil service were anxious to see them handsomely rewarded. The Directors were definitely and unequivocally opposed to all wars of aggression as they wiped off all their dividends and lent reality to the nightmare of their

(1) Mill and Wilson in their History have expressed a contrary but wholly erroneous opinion. Their contention that, "the real, the sole governing power of India is the Board of Control, and it makes use of the Court of Directors as an instrument", is not borne out by hard facts. Sir J. W. Kaye fell into the same error.

being supplanted by the Crown, while the Board for this very reason were willing to give their support to any Governor-General who promised to bring glory to the British arms. To make matters worse, there were two armies in India, the Company's and the King's, and the Directors suspected not without reason of the Board being partial to the latter.

My purpose in the present article, however, is not to describe these disputes(2) but to give a brief account of the way in which the cumbersome machinery operated and how its evil effects were in a large measure avoided.

The Act laid down that the despatches which were forwarded by the Directors for the approval of the Board should be returned within 14 days. The period was found too short to enable the Board carefully to peruse the contents and to make alterations, the more so as the Directors often sent a number of voluminous despatches together. To tide over this difficulty, the system of 'Previous Communications' was invented. As soon as a despatch arrived from India, a reply to it was prepared by the Directors who then informally sent it over to the Board accompanied by all the relevant papers, technically called the "Collection". At the Board's office, it was carefully gone through by the staff at their convenience and then submitted to the President who made any corrections he liked in red ink. These alterations were on some occasions very extensive indeed. The draft-reply went back to the Directors, looking very much like a school boy's note book which had been corrected by some conscientious and diligent examiner. The draft was returned with a short letter enumerating the numbers of paragraphs in which changes had been made but without assigning any reasons. It was open at this stage for the Chairman of the Court of Directors either to accept the suggestions or to ignore them. A fresh draft was then prepared which after having been passed by the appropriate Committee and the Court of Directors as a whole was formally sent to the Board. If the Board found that any of their suggestions had not been adopted but which they considered to be of sufficient importance to press, they could be re-incorporated, but now reasons had to be stated in full. The ground having been already prepared, this could be done within the time limit prescribed by law. The practice was found so useful that even when the Act of 1813 extended the period to two months it was retained.

The utility of 'Previous Communications' was thus described by Canning: "The use and object of Previous Communication is free discussion. They are amiable preludes to further propositions which enable the Board to state its objections (when it has any) and to offer its amendments and additions without assuming the air of dictation, and through which each party becomes acquainted with the other's sentiments without being committed, in point of consistency and indignity, to its own. The official draft being thus prepared, with a free knowledge how far it is likely to meet the concurrence of the Board, the best chance is taken for avoiding direct and official collision".(3) In an interesting letter to the Board in 1813, the Directors insisted that the Previous Communications were purely informal and that alterations could be subsequently made by both the parties, adding, "in point of fact such alterations

(2) I have described some of them in the following journals, Journal of Indian History, Dec. 1933 and August 1936; Indian Historical Quarterly, September 1934 and September 1936; and the Calcutta Review, May 1934 and July 1935.

(3) Proceedings of the Select Committee of 1832, p. 23.

have frequently been made by both even after their approval by Previous Communication"(4). The statement, however, is not true. Many of the official drafts returned from the Board's office without any trace of their interference, while in some cases the changes were merely verbal without much significance.

Apart from this, there were talks between the Chairman of the Court of Directors and the President of the Board of Control. The correspondence of Henry Dundas, the First wholetime President, contains many letters to David Scott, Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court by turns, couched in a style of the utmost cordiality inviting him to his office in Whitehall or to his home with a view to discussing the Company's affairs with him(5). In a very touching letter he lamented that he was very ill, "I shall, however, be glad to see you when you please, and if I am not able to hold conversation by speech, I must do it by my pen". The practice initiated by Dundas was adhered to by his successors, and it was at these meetings that the question of appointment of a new Governor-General or Governor was first mooted. On important occasions the President of the Board had by his side the Prime Minister, while the Directors were represented by members of the Committee of Correspondence.

These meetings were probably held weekly. Under date, November 9, 1818, occurs the following interesting entry in Farington's Diary: "Mr. Marjoribanks being Deputy Chairman of the East India Company told me that the Chairman and Deputy Chairman for the time being have a weekly meeting with the President of the Board of Control (now Mr. Canning) at which they make their respective reports, and amicably arrange matters for future proceedings."(6) It is a pity that no record of such talks was ever kept, for it must have been here that differences between the Directors and the Board first made their appearance and were finally composed.

Another factor of adjustment was furnished by the relationship in which the Governor-General and the Governors stood to the rival authorities. Though formally appointed by the Directors and under their control, they owed their selection to the Ministers whose friends they were. Before setting out for India, they took care to meet the Chairman of the Company and also the India Minister and the occasion was utilised for reviewing the general situation in India. In this way they became familiar with the points of view of both, and if they were wise they could follow a course of conduct calculated to secure the approval of both. Once in India they received private letters from the President of the Board and official despatches from the Court of Directors or its Secret Committee. On the other hand, they in their turn frequently wrote to the President and indeed were encouraged to do so. It is curious, however, that the practice of the Governors' writing privately to the Chairman on public matters was frowned upon by the Board.(7).

Fourthly, the fact that several of the Directors were members of the House of Commons and could also exert influence in the House of Lords doubtless placed a brake on the intervening propensity of the Board.(8).

(4) India Office Mss. Bengal Draft Despatches, XXIX. Letter of Sept. 2, 1813.

(5) India Office Mss. Home Miscellaneous Series, 731 A.

(6) Farington Diary, VI, p. 205.

(7) Home Miscellaneous, 342, p. 811.

(8) Lee-Warner, Life of Dalhousie, 1, p. 109.

But it was really the moderation with which the Board of Control exercised their powers which made the matters smooth. No better testimony to the fairness of the Board can be imagined than that to be found in the words of the Directors, who giving their view on the probable consequences of the Bill of 1813 declared: "The general powers of superintendence and control given by the former charters are in reality so large, that if they had been exercised illiberally or vexatiously, it might have been difficult for the Court of Directors to perform their functions; and with respect to the present powers, much will depend on the spirit in which they are administered".(9)

Nevertheless, the system of dual Government cost enormous labour and time. When a despatch arrived from India, and it usually contained hundreds of paragraphs, it had to be copied for the Board of Control. Then a 'collection' which on occasions consisted of fifteen to twenty thousand pages of manuscript had to be compiled. This normally took six months or more. There might be despatches of a prior date which had first to be answered; special letters from India on particular subjects which had first to be attended to; demand for information on particular subjects by the Directors or the Board; returns to Parliament of large masses of papers; and similar calls from the Court of Proprietors. After the 'Collection' had been prepared, reply had to be drafted, and that took up considerable time again. These replies, it may be remembered, did not consist of brief answers to particular questions referred to the Court of Directors for their decision, but were in the nature of a series of judgments passed on the multifarious proceedings of the several Governments in India for years past. The original despatch along with the 'Collection' and the contemplated reply was sent to the Board as 'Previous Communication'. If the Board agreed, well and good. Otherwise the 'Collection' had to be perused again, counsel consulted, and a memorandum drawn up and submitted to the Board. Though the controversy was usually settled within a year, in exceptional cases it dragged on for a long time, as in the well-known case of Major Hart where it lasted for nine years. The interposition of so much delay which was an inevitable consequence of the sharing of authority by numerous bodies, the Presidential Governments, the Supreme Government, the Court of Directors, the Board of Control, and the Court of Proprietors, implied that not infrequently before a reply was received from England to a particular question, the situation in India had completely changed and rendered the answer obsolete and worthless.

An idea of the work which had to be done at the East India House and Whitehall can be had by mentioning that the number of folio volumes of despatches received from India between 1793 and 1813 totalled 9,094. Apart from the drafts which were prepared by the Directors for the approval of the Board, letters which passed between the two on points arising out of them number 2,986.(10)

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(9) Minute of the Court of Directors, July 15, 1813.

(10) See the very interesting and informative letter of the Court of Directors dated Aug. 27, 1829, Letters from the Court to the Board, IX, pp. 432—453.

THE FAILURE OF SHAH ALAM II's FIRST EXPEDITION TO DELHI 1765-66

(By Dr. A. L. Srivastava, M.A. ,Ph. D., D.Litt.)

It is not generally known that before his final expedition that ended in his triumphal entry into Delhi on 6th January, 1772, Shah Alam had made two abortive attempts to quit the British protection at Allahabad and regain his ancestral throne and capital with which was associated, in popular imagination, the sovereignty of the whole of the sub-continent of India. He had entered into an alliance[1] with the English in Bengal against Shuja-ud-daulah in November, 1764 and, from that date till a few days before the conclusion of the treaty of Allahabad (16th Oct. 1765), he had hoped, in view of an agreement[2] made by the Calcutta government, to be put in possession of the provinces of Oudh and Allahabad ; but these hopes were completely shattered[3] when the restoration of Shuja-ud-Daulah was decided upon by Clive. After this memorable treaty by which he was given a tribute of 26 lakhs of rupees from Bengal and the districts of Kora and Allahabad from the Nawab-Wazir's dominion, he resided at Allahabad for nearly six years. But he always looked upon it as a temporary sojourn, a mere period of waiting during which to persuade the English authorities at Fort William to fulfil their promise of conducting him to Delhi and also to enlist the support of other powers to join the expedition. As he wrote to Verelst in September 1769, his " residence at Allahabad has been the result of chance and the exigencies of the times.[4] " Shah Alam's natural eagerness to seat himself on the throne of his forefathers and to attempt to revive the vanished glories of the empire can easily be imagined. Despite a fixed income and British protection, he was at Allahabad practically nothing more than a dignified royal pensioner, living in an atmosphere of suspicion, with no real power of even choosing his own ministers, to say nothing of liberty of following a home or foreign policy independent of the English. Shuja-ud-Daulah was forced[5] upon him as his Chief minister against his pronounced wish by Clive in 1766, and he was compelled to remove his own royal son from the *Wizarat*. The Wazir was invested with full powers of this office in the teeth of the imperial opposition in 1768, because Clive's successor, Verelst chose to support the former[6], and a little later the Emperor was taken to task by the head of the Bengal government, because he would not recall Munir-ud-Daulah and repose confidence in him after the latter's resignation and retirement from the post of deputy-wazir.[7] Add to these the Calcutta council's policy of suspicious watchfulness, literally followed by their Allahabad agents, Smith and Barker, the Emperor's anxiety about the honour and safety of the imperial ladies at Delhi and about safe-guarding his own right to the throne against a possible rival claimant from amongst the beggarly princes of blood imperial who lived in Delhi fort and whose cause might be espoused by a rebellious vassal, and finally the clearing of the political atmosphere of the country now and then in his favour, and we have the principal causes of Shah Alam's eagerness to make a move to Delhi as soon as a favourable opportunity appeared in sight.

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[1]Srivastava, Shuja-ud-Daulah, Vol. I. 257-58.

[2]Bengal Secret Consultations (abb. Ben. Sec. Cons.), 7th Jan. 1765 ; and, Srivastava, Treaties of Allahabad, *vide* Progs. I. H. Congress, 1938, p. 361.

[3]*Ibid.*

[4]Calendar of Persian Correspondence (or C. P. C.) I. 1626.

[5]C. P. C. I. 2792-2974 ; II-1044.

[6]C. P. C. II. 377-1207 ; Ben. Sel. Com. Progs. 25th January, 1769.

[7]C. P. C. II. 1668.

Clive had realised the intensity of the Emperor's desire and in response to his appeal for military assistance to instal him on his ancestral throne had promised to furnish him with two battalions of sepoys and eight pieces of field artillery, whenever the king resolved on marching either to Agra or to Delhi ; but as regards full military assistance he would afford it only if he were authorised by the Company and the King of England to undertake such an expedition.[1] There is no doubt that the latter part of Clive's promise was only a diplomatic device designed to silence the Emperor about the arbitrariness of the harsh terms he was dictating and to put off his march for Delhi and was not seriously intended to be fulfilled. In fact the British policy consistently aimed at using every persuasion and argument to prolong indefinitely the imperial stay at Allahabad, as it was of great political advantage to the Company. But this policy of promising to furnish military aid " at the end of the rains "[2], did not succeed for a long time as Shah Alam ultimately realised that the rains would never end.

As early as the end of September 1765, barely a month and a half after the Allahabad treaty, when some of the reasons given above, especially the English interference with the ministerial appointments at the court did not exist, Shah Alam expressed his desire to quit[3] Allahabad and begin his journey for the capital, and requested Clive to direct General John Carnac to attend him during the expedition. In October he received a letter from Najib-ud-Daulah, the regent at Delhi, informing him that the Sikhs were intending to occupy the Capital and the honour and safety of the imperial ladies was at stake, and requesting his presence[4] there without delay. Ahmad Khan Bangash, Dunde Khan and some other Ruhela chiefs also gave assurances of their support, and therefore Shah Alam made a firm resolution of undertaking the expedition. But he received no encouraging response from the English. While professing obedience Clive regretted his inability to send English troops without orders from the Emperor ; nor did he agree to lend arms as the Company itself, he wrote, was short of them.[5] A little later Shah Alam who had, simultaneously with this correspondence, entered into negotiations with Malhar Rao Holkar to whom he was said to have promised the cession of Kora and Allahabad districts as the price of the proposed Maratha undertaking to reinstate him at Delhi, despatched his advance tents towards the Capital and repeated his request to Clive, explaining that his presence was necessary at Delhi as a Sikh invasion of the place was imminent and therefore Najib-ud-Daulah, the Ruhela and the Bangash Chiefs were anxious to welcome him back to the imperial metropolis[6]. Clive endeavoured to dissuade the Emperor to give up his intention and even remonstrated with him, as this " wild project " was sure to throw him into the hands of the Marathas whom the English at once detested and feared and was likely to threaten the safety of Shuja-ud-Daulah's dominion and disturb the peace of Bengal, besides depriving the Fort William of all the advantage and prestige that were associated with the Mughal crown[7]. Shah Alam's conduct at this juncture savours of timidity. Instead of boldly declaring the real object of his negotiations with the Marathas, he characterised the story as a mere concoction of some interested mischiefmongers, and informed Clive that he had

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[1]C. P. C. II. 1364 & 1365.

[2]C. P. C. I. 2688 ; II 660 ; Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire II 549.

[3]C. P. C. I. 2718, 2731.

[4]C. P. C. I. 2735A.

[5]C. P. C. I. 2725.

[6]C. P. C. I. 2731, 2735 & 2735A, B, C and D.

[7]Ben. Sel. Com. to Col. Smith, 29th Oct. 1765 ; C. P. C. I. 2730.

sent Saif-ud-din Muhammad to Malhar Rao to divert the latter's attention from Delhi on which he had been casting longing eyes and to sound him for an alliance with the Company. He took pains to assure the governor that his march was intended only as far as Kora Jahanabad whence he would return after he had conquered the Agra fort from the Jats with Maratha assistance, and that he had no desire whatever of instigating the Marathas to invade Shuja-ud-Daulah's country[1]. Believing that his proposed " excursion to Kora dominion may have some distant view to that end ", the Select Committee gave no credence to the Emperor's assurances and directed Colonel Richard Smith, commander of the Company's troops at Allahabad, to induce him to give up his project and to inform him that not a single soldier under him would be allowed to accompany him. He was further instructed to do his best to break off the Emperor's connection with the Marathas, " to maintain our engagements with Shujah Dowlah to the utmost of our power " and to convince Shah Alam that his best interests lay in remaining content with his present territory (Allahabad and Kora districts) and the English protection.[2]

Shah Alam did not mind the repeated remonstrances and rebuffs from Clive and Smith and set out towards Kora with his harem and court sometime in December, 1765 and the English governor had eventually to permit Smith, as the result of a prolonged correspondence, to attend him with 5,000 troops of the Allahabad brigade[3]. The Select Committee, however, gave positive instructions to Smith not to proceed beyond Kora and to give no countenance " to his Majesty's wild project of seating himself upon the throne of his fore-fathers ; " " but if he should repose more confidence than he ought in the alliance of the Marathas, he must be left to the consequences of his own temerity[4] ".

Arriving in the neighbourhood of Kora, the Emperor and party encamped at Ghatpur (most probably Ghatampur on the Jamuna, 13 miles south of Fatehpur, the modern head-quarters of the district) and re-opened negotiations with Malhar Rao Holkar who was then busy re-establishing Maratha supremacy in Bundelkhand. Shah Alam's diplomacy aimed at bringing about an alliance between the English, Shuja-ud-Daulah and the Marathas and regaining his ancestral throne with their united support[5]. The Marathas were favourable to such an alliance provided the English joined it and certain districts were ceded to the former. There was no difficulty so far as Shuja-ud-daulah was concerned, as he was expected to follow the English lead in the matter, and therefore Shah Alam, while continuing negotiations with Malhar Rao, concentrated his efforts at wininng Clive to this cause. He invited Smith to a personal conference with him and urged him to induce the Fort William authorities to support his scheme and conduct him to Delhi, otherwise there was reason to fear that in case he could not accept Malhar's terms, the Marathas would march on Delhi and place another Mughal prince upon the throne which would result in an irreparable disgrace and ruin to the royal family. He told Smith that it was indispensable for him to be present in Delhi at this critical juncture and therefore feared that he would be under the necessity of accepting the Maratha offer, if the English refused to co-operate in escorting him to the capital and concluded his

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[1]C. P. C. I. 2754, 2759, 2760. There is no doubt that the Emperor wanted to capture the Agra fort (S. P. D. XXIX ; 99), but that was only a part of his scheme which aimed at the recovery of the Delhi throne.

[2]Ben. Sel. Com. to Smith, 22nd Nov. & 2nd Dec. 1765, *vide* Letter issued by Sel. Com. 1765, pp. 63-64, 85.

[3]S. P. D. XXIX, 107.

[4]Ben. Sel. Com. Progs. of 10th Feb. 1766, *vide* vol. 1766, pp. 1-2.

[5]S. P. D. Vol. XXIX, 99, 102, 107.

impassioned appeal in these words :—" I do request it as a particular favour of you to protract this negotiation with the Marathoes.... " till the Select Committee expressed their willingness to enter into an alliance with them. But under orders from Bengal Smith definitely refused to comply and " tears in the King's eyes ", wrote Smith to the Committee, " rolled down as I left[1] ".

The negotiations with Marathas were now broken off and the Committee turned down Smith's proposal that in view of peculiar circumstances an expedition with the Marathas for seating Shah Alam on the Mughal throne at Delhi seemed desirable[2]. On the contrary the Bengal government resolved on 13th March, 1766, to form an alliance with the Jats and the Ruhelas to counteract the schemes of the Marathas and Clive and Carnac were authorised to march to Patna for this purpose[3]. The governor sent an assurance to the Emperor that the English would escort him to Delhi " after the rains "—a promise never intended to be fulfilled—and the helpless Shah Alam had no alternative but to return to Allahabad early in April,[4] 1766.

It was at this time that Clive had recourse to the expedient of advising Shah Alam to despatch an envoy with a letter and suitable presents to George III of England to beg for British help to recover his hereditary throne and empire, with the object of preventing recurrence of similar expeditions on the part of the Mughal Emperor for a few years, if not for ever. Accordingly Aitisam-ud-Din, an Indian Muslim of noble birth, was sent along with Captain Swiston on this mission sometime in 1766. But after an absence of two years and nine months he returned from London in 1769 without having been able to achieve his object[5]. Clive's policy was, however, crowned with success in as much as Shah Alam waited for a reply from the King of England for about three years and did not plan another march to Delhi till April, 1769.

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[1]R. Smith's letter to Ben. Sel. Com. 10th Feb. 1766, *vide* Ben. Sel. Com. Progs. 1766, pp. 24-34.

[2]*Ibid.*

[3]Ben. Sel. Com. Progs., 13th March, 1766.

[4]Ghulam Ali, Shah Alam Nama (MS), II. 253.

[5]Shigarf-Nama. (MS) 2a-5b.

Life and Achievements

of

Ramachandrapant Amatya, Bawadekar, Hukmat-Panna,

1650-1720 A. D.

By Vasudeo V. Thakur, M.A.

1. *Ancestry.*

Narayen

Nilopant (Living 1523 A. D.)

Krishnajee

Naropant (In the service of Malojee Bhonsle).

Sonajipant (In the service of Shahajee Bhonsle Died as Dabir of Shiwaji in 1645 A. D.)

Nilopant (Sachiva of Shiwaji Bhonsle 1647-1672 A. D,)

Naropant

Ramachandra, Born 1650 A. D. Amatya and Hukmat-Panna.

The first three persons were serving the Bedar Muslim rulers. The next four generations served the Bhonsle family in Maharastra. The family bears various surnames according to their residence, and offices held:— Bhadnekar, Bhiwandikar, Muzumdar, Amatya and Bawadekar. It is, however, now known as "Amatya-Bawadekar".

Sonajipant (5th in the line of descent) is represented as well-versed in polity in "Shiva-Bharat", and holding discussions on "policy" with Shahaji and Shiwaji Maharajas.

2. *Parentage.*

Nilopant, the father of Ramachandra, served over 25 years as Sachiva. A letter of his is extant to-day addressed to Shiwaji Maharaja, revealing the independent attitude he had taken in contravention to the latter's orders. In the end the Maharaja had to yield, and grant his request. Straightforwardness and spirit of service, "Deserve then Desire" are the chief features of the letter. (Bawada Daftar I, 46). This Nilopant and his wife, Nirabai were disciples of Ramadass Swami. (Shree Das Vishram Dhama P. 439, 41).

Of such an illustrious ancestry, and disciplined parentage was born Ramachandra in 1650 A. D.

3. *Education and entry into State service.*

Ramachandra's Thread ceremony, and initiation into "Alpha & Beta" took place under the supervision of Ramadass Swami. Ramachandra served the Swami as his clerk for a number of years. (Shree Sampradayachi Kagad Patra Vol. I, 78).

State-service under–

(a) Shiwaji, (b) Sambhaji, (c) Rajaram, and (d) Two Kolhapur rulers.

A. D. 1668 Subnis of Janjira Sindhu Durga (B. D. I, 6).

,, 1674 Present as Amatya in the Coronation Ceremony of Shivaji Maharaja (Marathi Riyasat, II, 360).

,, 1681 Performed the last rites of Swami Ramadass, under the orders of Sambhaji Maharaja. (Marathi Riyasat, II,).

,, 1689 Land-grant at Kelwade (B. D. I, 52).

,, 1690 Walwa—a deserted village on the Krishna, re-populated (Grant Duff. I, 252.).

,, 1691 Hereditary Desh-Kulkarni; appointment by the Maharaja (B. D. I, 24).

,, 1692 General order to the army by the Maharaja to carry out Amatya's orders (B. D. I, 24).

,, 1693 Maharaja confers two villages on the wife and daughter of Amatya in appreciation of his eminent services during Aurangzeb's Southern Campaign, and the Maharaja's absence (B. D. I, 52).

,, 1697—99 Maharaja Rajaram, on his return from Jinji, wrote letters in high appreciation of the State service—on sea and land —rendered during the "War of Maratha Independence". He is titled "Hukmat-Panna" ("Fountain of Authority") (B. D. I, 4, 39 and 44).

,, 1708—15 Amatya is engaged in arranging State affairs of the Kolhapur Branch of Bhonsles. (B. D. I, 73, 74, 76, 82, 83, 84).

,, 1720 Amatya's last note to Sambhaji Maharaja of Kolhapur (Rajawade, VIII, 81).

4. *Strategical Success and Statesmanship.*

During the Maratha struggle with Aurangzeb which lasted from 1689 to 1707 Ramachandrapant became and remained the guiding soul and spirit of the Maratha State. In Maharastra he arranged 3 camps—(A) Himself taking charge of the territory between Satara and Miraj. (B) Konkan was taken charge of by Angrey, Gujar and Parashram Trimbak. (C) Mawal was taken charge of by Shankaraji Narayan.

The roads to, and routes between, Maharastra and Karnatic were guarded by Jadhav, Ghorpare, Pawar and Atalye.

Rajaram Maharaja, after an exile of nine years, came back safe and sound, and proclaimed himself king from Satara. The era of "Defensive Policy" ends in 1698, yielding place to an era of "Vigorous, Progressive Policy".

Corps of Dhangar army were raised. The Mawlas were stirred up. Leaders were encouraged by gifts and titles.

Chhatrapati Showaji Maharaja had abolished (or more properly) had discouraged the Vatan System. The Amatya realised the weakness, of his policy and declared "Unless the Vatans are returned back, we cannot hope to populate deserted villages. Deshmukhs, Deshkulkarnis, Mokadams must be re-instated in their old rights, privileges and possessions" (Itihasa Sangraha, Rajawade XVII, 28).

An eye to perceive, a head to conceive, and a hand to execute are, according to Burke, the possessions of a statesman. Ramachandrapant did possess all these, as will be seen from the short sketch given above.

5. *Literary Achievement "Adnya Patra".*

At the instance of Sambhaji Maharaja of Kolhapur Ramachandrapant wrote in Marathi "Adnya Patra, *alias* the Maratha Polity", in the year 1716. The work is divided into 9 chapters dealing with (I and II) Shiwaji's achievements, and the object of the present work. (III) The King's duties, (IV) The Ministry, (V) Sowkars or Bankers, (VI) Vatans, (VII) Grants in charity, (VIII) Forts and (IX) Navy.

It is a concise treaties penned by one who had seen active service in court and camp for over 50 years in Maratha affairs during a very critical period of stress, strain and reconstruction. Its value is enhanced the more, based as it is on past works and traditions, as well as personal experience. The language is brief and direct. The treatment of the subject is all logical. Justice tempered with mercy is writ large on every page.

The work vividly illustrates the social, the economic and the intellectual condition of the seventeenth century Maharashtra.

Maharaja Abhaisingh of Jodhpur and Maharaja Sujansingh of Bikaner.

[By Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Sahityacharya.]

We give below the English translation of a letter(1) of Maharaja Abhaisingh, the ruler of Jodhpur, written from Nagpur, the headquarter of the district adjoining Bikaner, and addressed to his ambassador at the Mughal Court.

A dispute arose, in August 1733 A. D., about the demarcation of the boundary of their respective territories, between Maharaj Bakhatsingh(2), the Chief of Nagaur and Maharaja Sujansingh, the ruler of Bikaner. Consequently the former invaded Bikaner and later on Maharaja Abhaisingh also joined him. Maharaja Sujansingh though for sometime bravely defended his capital, yet by the end of February 1734 A. D. he was obliged to enter into a treaty with the ruler of Jodhpur on the terms mentioned in the aforesaid letter.

On the other hand at that time the Marhattas were devastating a large part of India and a batch of these marauders, under the leadership of Baji Rao, plundered Malwa, while another, crossing Hadoti, devastated the districts of Jaipur. Maharaja Jaisingh, the ruler of Jaipur and the Governor of Malwa, being unable to defend the provinces under his care, sought help of Maharaja Abhaisingh of Jodhpur.

Moreover the conditions in the country became so threatening that Nawab Khan Dauran, the minister of Emperor Muhammad Shah, himself decided to march against the enemy but could not succeed in his attempt.

A detachment of these marauders also invaded Ahmedabad but was repulsed by the Jodhpur forces as is evident from the letter, under reference, dated the 3rd March 1734 A. D.

In conclusion, we may add that this letter, besides giving the terms on which a treaty was concluded between the rulers of Jodhpur and Bikaner, exposes the weakness of the Mughal Court and the invasion of the Marhattas on Gujrat, Malwa and Rajputana.

Top and marginal lines written with Maharaja's own pen

Almighty is our protector

We have already written about the events. ——————
We have come back to Nagaur. As we heard of the march of the Nawab we, leaving all other affairs, have returned here immediately. We also received the request of Jaisinghji for help and therefore we are coming in haste. As we have with us a large contingent, you would ask the Nawab about our further movements so that we may act according to it. Further you would arrange for the expenses so that the contingent may be retained. For this we have given detailed instructions to Manroop and according to which you would take the promise of the Nawab. You would also obtain sufficient money from him. Further if.....you would tell the Nawab and get his full approval and convince him fully. In this task your services and

(1) It was discovered at the house of the descendant of the person to whom it was written and is now preserved in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur.

(2) He was the younger brother of Maharaja Abhaisingh of Jodhpur and held the province of Nagaur as his Jagir.

the way you proceed will be appreciated. You would note everything written by Manroop. You would keep yourself always hearty by our favour, which we have for you. It is our command. Arrange to send the money immediately as we are in dire need of it. Pay particular attention towards obtaining money. It is our command.

Inscription of the Royal seal.

By the grace of Almighty (Goddess) Hingulaj, glory be to the sovereign, king of kings, paramount sovereign, Maharaja Shri Abhaisingh Deva, who shines like the sun on the earth.

Hari, Amba, Shiva, Soor (Sun) and Vinayaka, may these five deities always bestow favours.

Approval of the letter by Maharaja in his own caligraphy.

It is our command

Letter

By command of the illustrious, king of kings, paramount sovereign, Maharaja Shri Abhaisinghji and his heir-apparent Shri Ramsinghji, Bhandari Amarsingh, at Shahjahanabad (Delhi), would note their favours.

We have received your letter and noted all its contents. You had written that the Nawab will march against the forces of the invaders, as the enemy, crossing Malwa and Hadoti, has arrived at Dhundhar and has devastated the districts of Amber-Jaipur. Thereon, hearing the march of the Nawab, we decided to reach there in order to punish the invaders and not to pay any more attention to this affair (of ours). Further as the Bikaner ruler was also suing for peace and has accepted the allegiance of the Darbar (us), we fixed rupees twelve lacs as indemnity. Out of which he would pay rupees eight lacs in cash and for the remaining four lacs he would cede the districts of Kharbuji and Sarunda to Darbar (us). He also promised to serve ourselves, in future, with his full contingent and every available force under him. Now we are marching from this place to chastise the invaders. We have just received an urgent request from Jaisinghji for the early despatch of a helping force to him, and we have also heard about the march of the Nawab, therefore how could we delay here any more.

Now you would enquire from the Nawab whether we are to go to Ahmedabad or march towards Ajmer and Amber to face the enemy, who is reported to have arrived there. As for the expenses and deputies you would personally see the Nawab and get rupees 25,00,000 at least. Everything depends on money. Also enquire about the Governorship of the province of Ajmer. The news about the repulse of the enemy, who invaded the province of Ahmedabad, might have reached there directly. Further we are despatching there ten thousand horse very shortly. Hence you would arrange for the money and enquire about the Governorship of Ajmer. Your services will be fully appreciated for these efforts. Moreover we have given orders to Bhandari Manroop Daula, who will write you and you would also try your best for that. There ought to be no negligence in it. It is our command.

Sunday the 10th of the bright half of Phagun 1790 V. S. (3rd March 1734 A. D.).

SOME DOCUMENTS BEARING ON IMPERIAL MUGHAL GRANTS TO RAJA SHĀHU.

(1717-1724)*

(By Dr. A. G. Pawar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law.)

The imperial Mughal grants of *Chauth*, *Sardeshmukhi* and *Swarājya* given to Raja Shāhu in the year 1719 have been perhaps lost to us. They were seen by the the first historian of the Marathas[1], but they are not available now. There are, however, certain other papers which throw some light on these grants. These are English[2] translations of original Persian documents and are included in Bri. Mu. Add. 26,606, which formed part of the private collection of " James Grant ", the historian himself. Some account of the grants based mainly on these papers is attempted here.

There is no record of any grant made to Raja Shāhu when he was released from Mughal captivity by Azam Shah in May 1707. According to Chitnis[3], orders were issued to the governors of the Deccan provinces, merely intimating them that the old Maratha kingdom was restored to Raja Shāhu and thenceforward he would be the ruler. The Raja was, however, promised that *Chauth* and Sardeshmukhi of the six Deccan *Subhas* would be granted to him if he proved loyal and serviceable to the emperor. It is probable that at the time when Shāhu secured his release there was no possibility of obtaining any privileges. His may have been even a case of forced release, or, in the words of a news-letter[4] written about this time, Shāhu just ran away. If that were the case Shāhu could hardly have had any time to obtain a grant or even a promise for it.

Though we do not know the date[5] of the first grant, we find that early in September 1709, Shāhu gave out that Bahādur Shah had allowed him to levy the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* contributions in the southern parts of the imperial territory, and that, as Chauth was not paid in certain parts, " The Maratha Sardars were ordered to go to the royal territory to plunder it."[6] Khāfi Khān, however, asserts that owing to party feuds at the Mughal Court, no *Firman* was issued at that time either to Shāhu or to his rival Shivāji, the son of Rājārām and Tārābāi[7]. Nevertheless, it must be said that with or without any such grants, Shāhu for some years after his

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*All dates mentioned in this article are according to the Old Style, and use is made of *Khare's Jantri* in finding out dates according to Christian era.

[1] Grand Duff in his History (1918 ed., Vol. I, P. 372, f.n.) says that the original *Firmans* were in the possession of the Raja of Sātārā.

[2] An abridged Marathi translation of some of these Persian papers will be found in Taha Karārmadār (Pp. 1—9).

[3] Thorale Shāhu Mahārāja, Pp. 8—9 (ed. 1924).

[4] A news-letter included in " Notes from Jaipur Records. Akhabarat-i-Darbar-i Mulla." I am very much obliged to Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai for the kind permission he gave me to use a typed copy of the Notes prepared and supplied to him by Dr. Raghubir Sinh.

I have referred to these notes as Akhabarats.

[5] From Rājwaḍe, Vol. 8, 289 it is clear that certain rights were conceded to Shāhu before May 1708.

[6] Akhbarats. That in this year Shāhu's agents were levying such contributions in the province of Haiderābād is clear from *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. 7, 4.

[7] Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, PP. 408-9.

release must have been forced to obtain a share of the imperial revenues. Mere recognition of his title to the old kingdom was not enough ; he had to reduce it into his possession, whereas he had no means of raising and maintaining an army. He had, therefore, to depend mainly on the resources of his imperial patron. Wherever he could not " take money " by peaceful means, he must have used force.[8]

During the viceroyalty of Zulfiqar Khān (1708-1713), who ruled the Deccan provinces through his deputy Daud Khan, and who from the very beginning maintained " a right understanding with the Sevajees[9]" a " friendly agreement " existed between Shahu and Daud Khan. By this agreement the Maratha King was to get the *Chauth* of the Deccan provinces, but it was to be collected by the imperial officers.[10] This agreement was not, perhaps, strictly adhered to by Zulfiqar Khan's successor, Nizam-ul-mulk (1713-1715), but the claim that the Nizam " succeeded in abrogating *the impossible and harmful arrangements* made between Zulfiqar Khan and Raja Shāhu[11]" is not at all supported by the fact that later on the Nizam had himself to endorse similar grants.

With the assumption of the viceroyalty of the Deccan by Sayyid Hussain Ali Khān in May 1715, a definite progress was made by Shāhu in obtaining official recognition of his claims. Circumstances so developed that the Sayyid was forced to appease the Raja. On the one hand the Emperor Farrukh-siyar sought his destruction ; on the other the Marathas grew more and more troublesome. It was even suspected that the Emperor was instigating the Marathas against the Sayyid. He, therefore, realised that if he could succeed in winning over the Marathas to his own cause he would not only secure his position in the Deccan but add strength to his arms against the emperor. His " trusted nobles " advised him to open negotiations with Raja Shāhu[12]. He accepted their advice and Shankarāji Malhār, an old Maratha diplomat, was specially commissioned by him to conduct the negotiations, [13] which, it must be mentioned, were carried on in the name of the Emperor. When an agreement was reached between the two parties the proceedings, in conformity with the imperial practices, were given a colour to show that it was Shāhu who humbly petitioned for certain grants and pledged himself to fulfil certain conditions.

The terms offered by Sayyid Hussain Ali Khān to Raja Shāhu are not known.[14] We know, however, the demands made by the Maratha King. The principal person conducting the negotiations on behalf of Shāhu was his Peshwā Bālāji Vishwanāth. Bālāji handed over to the Sayyid the following paper dated[15] September 19, 1717.

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[8] Khāfi Khān himself says, " The Mukkaddams and Zamindars of the towns and villages hastened out to meet the Maratha army undertaking to pay the Chauth and begged for protection ..... when the Faujadars or Zamindars of a place refused to pay the Chauth and made no propositions the Marathas attacked the place and thoroughly ravaged it." Idem, P. 465.

[9] Bombay to Surat, January 12, 1703 F, R. Bombay, Vol. 1.
The Sevajees were the Marathas.

[10] Khāfi Khān.

[11] Dr. Khān's *Nizamul-mulk Asaf Jah* I. P. 79.
(Italics in the quotation are mine). The grants which the Nizam endorsed are mentioned below.

[12] Khāfi Khān, P. 466.

[13] *Ibid.* See also S. P. D. 7. 28.

[14] No. 28 of S. P. D., Vol. 7 throws some light on the offer that may have been made. From it we learn that Shankarāji was empowered to offer the whole of the kingdom south of the Narbadā together with all the fortresses. In return Shāhu was, among other things, to promise that his army " which was in the habit of molesting the imperial dominions should no longer create any troubles."

[15] Br. Mu. Add. 26, 606.

Seal

" Bundah[16] Raja Shāhoo the Slave of Alumgeer Badshah Gazee

" The requests according to the sequel of Rajah Shāhoo, the date 24th Shoowal in the 6th Jaloos, (September 19, 1717) written to the ministers and delivered by Ballajee Pundit

" 1st The old kingdoms, according to the two[17] papers with my signature, be given to me upon the date of Sahnak (?)

2nd Let the Watun of the Surdeshmuckee of the six provinces of the Deccan, according to the sequel, with the tax of 10 per cent be given to me.

The province of Aurangabad, the province of Kandesh, the province of Barar with Chandar and Deoghur, the province of Mahummudabad (Beeder), the province of Darool Zufur (Beejapore) with the Carnatic, and the province of Furcundah Buniad (Hyderabad).

3rd Let the fourth part of the six provinces of the Deccan, according to the sequel, with 25 per cent be given to me.

[7]The names of the provinces are as above and are mentioned in the same order except that " with the Carnatic " comes not after Bijapur but after both Bijapur and Haiderābād.[6]

4th If any of my brothers shall come to you do not keep them near you ; and if any of my servants shall come to you for employment, do not employ them in your service.

5th Let my mother, my brother, my brother's wife and other persons be brought from the royal presence and delivered over to me[19]."

Three days before this paper was written, yet another was made out by Shāhu It was as follows :—

(Seal of Shāhu as before)

" I Raja Shahoo am the slave of your Majesty. I have obtained from your royal presence the Watun of the Surdeshmuckee and the fourth part of the six provinces of the Deccan according to the sequel, *viz.*, the province of Aurangabad, the province of Candesh, the province of Barar, the province of Mahummadabad (Beidar), the province of Ferundah Buniad

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[16] This was Shāhu's Persian Seal which he must have used in his correspondence with imperial officers. For other purposes he had a Marathi Seal.

[17] The translation of these two papers is not included in Bri. Mu. Add. 26, 606.

[18] I have retained everywhere the original transliteration, because the names of the provinces are clear.

[19] In Bhāratvarsh Patre Yadi 1—40 (same as Aitihasik Patravyavahār No. 6 Pp. 8—9) a similar paper with more details is given. It is identical with the *yadi* given in Chitnis (Thorale Shāhu Maharāj, PP. 51—52). Unfortunately the *yadi* does not bear any date and it is not clear as to when and to whom it was delivered by the Peshwā. Its contents appear to be quite important. Hence an abridged English translation is given here.

Shāhu orders (obviously) his Peshwā to secure the following : —

[1] Get the Swarājya of Shivāji including Raigad and other forts.

[2] Ask for return of some thirteen places. (Their names are given).

[3] Get Chauth of the places which are secured in each Sansthān.

[4] Get for Fattesingh Bhonsale the estate of Nabob Balol Khān.

[5] Secure the inclusion in Swarajya of the kingdom of Chandā seized by Kānhoji Bhonsale.

[6] Get the Tanjore kingdom together with all the fortresses.

[7] Secure the release of mother (Yesubai), Mardān Singh (Madan Singh ?), Durgabai, Janakibai and servants.

[8] Obtain *Firmans* in conformity with our past agreements.

[9] Get separate *Firmans* for Chauth, for Sardeshmukhi, for the western coast (Konkanpatti) including Rājpuri, and for whichever other parts you can obtain.

[10] For each *Mahal* get one village as Sardeshmukhi *inam*.

[11] Ask for the return of Jaising Pālkar (?) in case he is willing to return.

[12] Ask for Tryambak (fort ?).

[13] Besides the six Deccan provinces get as much of Gujarat and Malwa as you can.

(Hyderabad), and the province of Darool Zufur (Beejapore). My Baiebunds[20] are plundering two of these provinces *viz* Beejapur and Hyderabad, on which account I am making an agreement that under the auspicies of your Majesty in three years I will drive away those plunderers and will make a good bundobast of the country. And if in three years I may not be able to drive them out then whatever loss on their account may arise to your Majesty's Kingdom I will recompense your Majesty for it. On this account I write this. 21st Shoowal in the 6th Jaloos[21] (Sept. 16, 1717)".

It will be seen from this paper that Shāhu claims that he has already obtained from the Mughal Emperor the "*watan*" of the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* of the Deccan provinces. It may be that no *Firmans* were as yet issued to him and he was, therefore, endeavouring to get his title duly recognised.

In comfomity with the promises made by Shāhu, his *wakil* Yādavrāo submitted a petition to the Viceroy which, *inter alia*, throws light on the *raison d'être* of the Surdeshmukhi grant. "The Rajah's Wakeel," reads the summary of the petition, "is representing that the country of the Deccan has been laid waste for many years by the hands of the plunderers. If the business of the Surdeshmukee of the provinces of the Deccan with the tax of ten per cent is fixed to his master then he will punish those plunderers and will render every deserted village populous, and the plunderers who inhabit the borders and tyrannise over the Riyats he will expell and he will (make ?) such a bundobust that travellers and merchants will be able to travel backwards and forwards with security. If any one's property is robbed or destroyed then he will punish the thieves and make them restore it ; and if he cannot accomplish this he himself will give it. And he will at all times place a good army with the arranger which shall transact all the Sarkar's affairs. And when the country is very desolate he will not take a single rupee of taxes. On this account he cannot give the Peshkush[22] according to custom which is fixed according to the former revenue but he consents to pay Rs. 1,17,19,390=12 as a Peshkush, one fourth of which he will give on taking the Sunnad and the remainder on settling the taxes. He is hopeful that he will obtain the Sunnad."[23]

On February 10, 1718 Yādavrāo completed the agreement for the payment of the Peshkash and fulfilment of the obligations which would entail upon his master on receiving the Sardeshmukhi. On the same day the following Sanad was issued with the seals of the Viceroy and the Diwan of the Deccan.

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[20] *i.e.*, relations. Is this reference to the branch of Kolhāpur ?

[21] Bri. Mu. Add 26, 606. The julus year is necessarily that of the emperor Farrukh-Siyar, because Bahādur Shāh's reign did not extend up to the month Shawal of his 6th reigning year.

[22] Peshkash="Premium paid to the State upon receiving a grant, honour or hereditary right." Molesworth.

[23] Br. Mu. 26,606. There are several papers showing the revenue of the Deccan provinces and the Peshkash calculated thereupon. The revenue of the provinces in the year 1718 was as follows :—

	Rs.
Aurangabād	1,23,76,042 —11¼
Berar	1,15,23,508 —14¾
Bedar	74,91,879 —12½
Bijapur	7,85,08,560 —14½
Haiderābād	6,48,67,483 — 0
Khāndesh	57,49,819 — ¾
	18,05,17,294 — 5¼

On this the tax of 10 p.c. amounted to Rs. 1,80,51,730. The established Peshkash was Rs. 6,510 for every thousand rupees. The Peshkash amounted to Rs. 11,75,16,762. Shāhu, however, consented to give only Rs. 1,17,19,390-12 of which he would give one fourth (*i.e.*, Rs. 29,29,847-11) on receiving the Sanad, and the remainder (Rs. 87,89,543-1) on settling the taxes.

These amounts of revenue and Peshkash practically remained fixed as the basis of calculation in the succeeding years. See Grant Duff Vol. 1 372 (f. n.).

First Seal

"" Ameerool[24] Amra Buhadur Feroz Jung the Slave of Mahoommed Feerok-Seer Badshah Gazee, in the year 1125

Second Seal

" Der (y?) anut Khan the Slave of Mahommed Feerokseer Badshah Gazee in the year 1121

" In these days the business of the Surdeshmuckee of the province(s) of the Deccan according to the Seahee with the seal of the Ameerool Amra Bahadur Feroz Jung and according to the details on the back, with the consent of one crore, seventeen lacs, nineteen thousand, three hundred and ninety Rupees, 12 annas as a Peshkush to the Sarkar, of which one fourth was to be given on taking the Sunnad and the remainder on settling the taxes with (sic) the tax of ten per cent from the commencement of the season of Rubeeuntgul[25] has been fixed to Rajah Shahoo, to make the country populous, to be a well-wisher of the Sarkar, to punish all malefactors, to use every endeavour for the performance of these ; and if any one's property should be stolen or destroyed, to get it restored and to punish the thieves ; and if he does not do that, to give it himself ; to perform the business of the king with a good army at all times, to give the Peshkush into the Sarkar's treasury according to the settlement of the taxes ; and besides the established tax not to take one *dam* from any one. It is necessary that the Deshmuks, Deshpandians, Mukuddoms, Riyats and Musarras (?) of the above mentioned provinces should give the rights of the Sardeshmuckee to that person to whom it has been fixed. 19th Rubeeoolawool in the Jaloos[26] 7" (February 10, 1718).

Two months later on April 12, 1718, Sayyid Hussain Ali Khān gave to Shāhu a Sanad for " the Lands of the Old Kingdoms ", that is, Swarājya. It was as follows

(The seal of the Viceroy as above)

" In these days the Lands of the Old Kingdoms according to former custom with the consent of ten lacs of Rupees as a Peshkush to the Sarkar of which one fourth is to be given on taking the Firman and the remainder on settling the taxes agreeing with the detail on the back has been fixed to Rajah Shahoo ; that he is to render the Riyats and the rest of the inhabitants of those lands contented, and to make the country populous, to be a well-wisher of the Sarkar, and to punish all malefactors ; and whatever has been settled by the Sarkar to act according to it ; to give the Peshkush of the Sarkar agreeable to the agreement. It is necessary that the Deshmukhs, Deshpandes, Mukuddamans, Muzarrans and all the inhabitants of those kingdoms shall consider Rajah Shahoo as their master and whatever advice he may give to consent to it. Let them consider this as fixed. 21st Jummadoolawool in the 7th Jaloos[27] " (April 12, 1718).

On the back of this Sanad, the details of the Old Kingdoms are given. They were divided into 37 *paraganās*, 24 of which were in the Balaghāt country and 13 in the Pāinghat country. The details of the places included in all these *paraganās* are given, but they are too many to mention here.

[24] The emperor Md. Farrukh-siyar conferred the following titles on Sayyid Hussain Ali Khān in 1713. " Umdat-ul-mulk, Amir-ul-umra, Bahadur, Firuz Jung, Sipah-Sardar ". See Irvine *Later Mughals* 1. 258.

[25] The spring season (?).

[26] Br. Mu. Add 26,606.

[27] *Idem.*

In this way Sayyid Hussain Ali Khān gave to Shāhu Sanads for Sardeshmukhi and Swarājya. But whether he gave one for Chauth is not known. According to Khāfi Khān, not only a grant of Chauth was made to Shāhu but his men were to share in so many other sources of government collections that " they were to receive nearly half the total revenue recorded in the Government rentroll[28]."

These grants by the Viceroy were to receive royal confirmation and the Sayyid " made no delay in writing for a royal firman[29]." But even before this confirmation was obtained—and it was not obtained early nor without some trouble—Shāhu made it known that " The Emperor had condescended to make the grants.....and Sannads were issued by the Amiral-umrāo[30]." (August 1, 1718). Shāhu indeed did not wait for the royal *Firmans*. He immediately started enforcing the Viceroy's Sannads[31].

Farrukh-siyar refused to ratify the agreement made by the Viceroy with the Marathas, and the Sayyid marched to Delhi with an army of his new allies (February 1719). Farrukh-siyar was deposed (February 17) and a prince named Rafi-ud-darjat was placed on the throne. He reigned for few months and was himself deposed on May 24. It was during this time that the royal *Firmans* confirming the grants to Raja Shāhu were issued. The *Firman* for Chauth was issued on March 3, and that for Sardeshmukhi on March 15. The date of the deed for Swarājya is not known[32]. A brief account of the contents of these grants is given by Grand Duff[33].

One small point may be cleared here. Grand Duff says, " the original grants are in possession of the Raja of Satara ; they are in the name of Mohummad Shah, dated in the first year of his regin.[34]" Referring to this remark Irvine says, " No doubt the above dates (i.e., March 3—15, 1719) fall in the first year of that reign by the official reckoning ; but if the deeds were actually issued on the dates they bear, they must have been made out in the name of Rafi-ud-darjat, for Muhammad Shah's accession being then hidden in the future, the fact that at a subsequent date the accession would be ante-dated could not be known to any one[35]." Irvine's logic is irrefutable, but what Grand Duff saw with his own eyes must have been true. In fact it appears that the *Firmans* were issued by both emperors. There are many papers[36] which go to prove this. Thus, for instance, a document dated June 23, 1724 reads, " In these days the Government of the Old Kingdoms..... according to the great Firman of Shum Sha-ud-dean Mahoommed Rufaf-ud-dajat of which a copy has arrived in the Daftar Khana.....has been fixed to Rajah Shahoo." Similarly in another deed we read, " In these days the fourth part of the country of the six provinces of the Deccan.....according to the *Firman* of Mahommad Shah Bad-shah Gazee has been fixed to Rajah Shahoo." It is thus clear that the *Firmans* must have been originally issued by the emperor Rafi-ud-darjat, but, when the name of the emperor was expunged from the records, Muhammad Shah's *Firmans* must have replaced those of his predecessor.

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[28] Khāfi Khān P. 467. Khāfi Khān gives a long and graphic account of all these collections.

[29] *Idem* P, 468.

[30] Shāhu's own letters. Rājwāde 3, 99—100.

[31] *Idem.*

[32] Grand Duff gives the above dates in his History 1. 372—3 f.ns.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Idem P. 372 f.n.

[35] *Idem Mughals* 1. 407 f.n.

[36] Br. Mu. 26,606.

The conditions under which Shahu accepted the grants are given in detail in a document[37] which, unfortunately, does not bear any date. It is as follows :—

(Shāhu's Persian Seal)

" I am making an agreement to be obedient to your Majesty ; according to the sequel will I act

1st I have obtained from your bounty and generosity the Watun of the Sardeshmuckee of the six provinces of the Deccan ; with the favour of the Almighty I will make your country extremely populous ; and the Peshkush according to the dustoor and agreeing with the dustoor of other Jemindars shall be paid after receiving the Sunnud agreeable to the agreement.

2nd I have obtained the fourth part of the six provinces of the Deccan in return for which fifteen thousand horsemen shall be ready in the six provinces and whatever your collectors may order that shall be performed.

3rd No plunder shall be committed in the forts, the stations and the country of your Majesty, and whoever wishes shall pass thro the six provinces with safety.

4th The dependents of your Majesty having become your enemies whether Marathas or Mussulmans, shall find no admission in my kingdoms, should they ask for it.

5th A man of high rank shall be placed by me with your collector that according as I have made an agreement so shall he act."

The next few papers contained in the bundle which we are noticing are all Sanads issued by Nizam-ul-mulk. Some of them were issued by him on November 22, 1720, some on January 14, 1721 and the rest on June 23, 1724. The necessity of mentioning these chronological details lies in the fact that it is not clear in what particular capacity and with what particular intentions the Nizam may have given the Sanads at the time he did. It appears that during this period he was eager to secure the assistance of the Marathas. In 1720, the Sayyid brothers sought his destruction, whereas he on his part " gathered great forces in the Ducan (Deccan) Country and openly declared against the Syuds[38]." Nizam-ul-mulk's stars were in the ascendant. He defeated and killed in open battles both Dilwar Ali (June 8) and Alim Ali (July 30). The Sayyids must have been frightened by his victories, because, with a view to pacify him, they made the emperor send a *Firman* offering him the Viceroyalty of the Deccan. But " as expected Nazamulmulk refused the Phirmaund and Seerpav[39] sent him by the King.....returning answer that it came from the Syed who kept the king Prisoner from whom he hoped to deliver[40] him." It thus appears that Nizam-ul-mulk had not assumed the Viceroyalty of the Deccan when he issued the Sanads in the years 1720-21.

In any case the occasion of the grants of November 22, 1720 is not at all clear. May be Nizam-ul-mulk wished to win Shahu's men on his side in his struggle against the Sayyids, or the Marathas may have found it necessary to botain his consent in getting their dues smoothly. Be it as it may, Shāhu's *Wakil* Mahadaji, son of Anandrao, submitted his request to the Nizam in the following words :—

" This is the explanation of the request of Rajah Shahoo's Wakeel

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[37] *Idem.*
[38] Bengal Public Consultation Range 1, Vol. 4, P. 134 (May 1720).
[39] Robes of honour.
[40] Patna to Fort William, June 1, 1720 ; Beng. Pub. Con., Vol. 4, P. 139.

He is representing that according to the Firman of Mahoommud Shah Badshah in which it is fixed to take the Fourth part of the six provinces of the Deccan and to place fifteen thousand Horsemen under the command of the arranger of the six provinces ; give to his master a new Sunnud[41]."

On this petition, the Nizam's officer commented,

" The copy of the Firman of Mahoommud Shah Badshah Gazee is in his (*i.e.*, Wakil's) possession. That fifteen thousand Horsemen are to be placed by Raja Shahoo under the command of the arranger of the provinces and in return he is to receive the fourth part of the six provinces of the Deccan. Formerly in the days of Hussean Alley Khan the Purwanas of the fourth part of the six provinces were not taken from the Dufter of the Deewan of the Deccan. The Purwanas of the fourth of the lands held immediately by Government agreeing with the Seeaha-Jat (?) of the Nizamut Duftur were taken from the Dewan's Daftur[42]."

Similarly Shāhu's Wakil submitted that the Sardeshmukhi rights also should be confirmed and that his master was ready to perform all the duties assigned to him in return of those rights[43].

Nizam-ul-mulk consented and issued the following orders[44] on November 22, 1720.

(1) Seal

" Nizamool Moolk Futah Jung Buhadar the disciple of Mahoommed Shah Badshah Gazee, in the year 1131 and the 1st Jaloos

" In these days the fourth part of the country of the six provinces of the Deccan from the date of the service of fifteen thousand Horsemen according to the Firman of Mahommed Shah Badshah Gazee has been fixed to Rajah Shahoo. The before-mentioned army is to be placed with arranger of the provinces of the Deccan and to perform the king's service. It is necessary that the Governors, the Amals, the Jagheerdars, and the Koozeans (?) of the above mentioned provinces should give to the Carcoons of Rajah Shahoo that which has been fixed. 2nd Sufur in the 2nd Jaloos (November 22, 1720).

(2) (Seal as before)

" In these days the business of the Surdeshmuckee of the Provinces of the Deccan according to the detail on the back with the tax of ten per cent and consent of Rs. 1,17,19,390-12-0 as a Peshkush to the Sarkar, and agreeing with the firman of Mahommed Shah Badshah Gazee has been fixed to Rajah Shahoo etc., etc.[45] 2nd Safar in the 2nd Jaloos."

(3) Nizam-ul-mulk not only recognised Shāhu's rights of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi and ordered the officers of the Deccan provinces to allow the Raja to enjoy his rights without opposition, but he also issued a number of orders to the Thanedars, or persons in charge, of several places, which till then were included within the imperial dominions, to deliver those places to Shahu. These are too many to mention here.

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[41] Br. Mu. 26,606.
[42] *Idem.*
[43] *Idem.* In order to save space the whole paper is not reproduced here.
[44] *Idem.*
[45] The remaining part of this Sanad is exactly the same as the one that was issued by Sayyid Hussain Ali Khān.

After the victories of Nizam-ul-mulk over his adversaries in 1720, his relations with Raja Shahu appear to have grown in cordiality. There was a meeting between him and the Raja's Peshwa, Bajirao, on January 4, 1721[46]. Nine days later Shahu's *Wakil* Mahadaji Anandrao submitted his requests[47] to Nizam-ul-mulk about his master's rights of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. He said that he had in his possession the Sanads of Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan, and the Firmans of Muhammad Shah " with the seal of the Cazy of Aurangabad ". But " the Sunnuds of the Daftur of the Deewan were not obtained." He, therefore, requested for such Sanads. As regards the agreed payment of the *Peshkash* the *Wakil* observed, " the country is very desolate, and plunderers are destroying it, and of the tax of ten percent one Rupee has not been obtained ; therefore I am making an agreement that the fourth part of the Peshkush shall be given in the year 1131." (*i.e.*, in A. D. 1722).

The proposal was accepted by Nizam-ul-mulk and on January 14 (1721) he issued " the Sanads[48] of the Diwan." The Chauth Sanad for the province of Bidar was as follows :—

1st Seal

Nizamool Moolk Futtah Jung Buhadar the disciple of Mahoommed Shah Badshah Gazee. In the year 1131 and 1st Jaloos.

2nd Seal

Fidoovee Khan disciple of Mahoommed Shah Badshah Gazee. In the year 1132 and 2nd Jaloos.

Let it be known to the agents, to the Jagheerdars, Kroreans and Jemindars of the Pergunnahs of the province of Mahummudabad urf Biedar that in these days, according to the Firman of Mahoommed Shah Badshah Gazee and fixed by Nizamool Moolk Futtah Jung Buhadar and according to the Zumun(?), the fourth part of the Lands held by Government and likewise the fourth part of the Lands of the Jagheerdars with the exception of the customs has been fixed to Rajah Shahoo ; it is necessary that they should give the fourth portion to his Carcoons. 26 Rubeeoolawool in the 2nd Jaloos (January 14, 1721).

On the back of the deed, the details of the several *paraganas* included in the province of Bidar were mentioned.

In like manner, separate Sanads for the provinces of Aurangabad, Khandesh, Berar, Haiderābād and Bijapur were issued, and full details[49] of the *paraganas* included in each province were written on the back of the corresponding Sanad.

The Sardeshmukhi Sanad was as follows :—

(Two Seals as before)

In these days the business of the Sardeshmuckee of the provinces of the Deccan agreeing with the firman of Mahoommad Shah Badshah Gazee and fixed by Nizamool Moolk Bahadar Futah Jung according to the Zumun(?) has been granted to Rajah Shahoo ; that he will be a well wisher of the Sarkar and to render the country populous, to punish all malefactors, to be extremely attentive that travellers and merchants

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[46] S. P. D. 30. 309.
[47] Br. Mu. 26, 606.
[48] Br. Mu. Add. 26, 606.
[49] These details are important for more than one reason. Yet considerations of space have disallowed their enumeration.

be allowed to pass backward and forward and that they be not plundered or hindered ; besides what has been fixed as the tax not to take one dam ; it is necessary that the Deshmuks, Deshpandians and Jemindars of the lands of the province of Aurungabad[50] should give him the tax which has been fixed and consider him as the Surdeshmuck. 26th Rubeealawool in the 2nd Jaloos (January 14, 1721).

Nizam-ul-mulk was made Grand Vazir on February 9, 1721. The intrigues at the court, however, did not abate a whit. So early in 1724 he " retired in disgust from the Court to Aurangabad[51]." The emperor ordered Mubariz Khan, the governor of Haiderābād to oppose the Nizam, and, among other persons, wrote to " Rajah Sahu " to assist the governor[52]. The Maratha king wished to turn the opportunity to his own advantage and sent a long list of terms on which he would assist the emperor. Shahu asked for confirmatory *Firmans* for Chauth, Sardeshmukhi and Swarajya on condition that he should be excused from paying the *peshkash*. He made several other demands, one of which is of striking importance. " The Emperor will," he said, " confer the Viceroyalty of the Deccan provinces only upon that person whom we shall select[53]." Nizam-ul-mulk must have anticipated such an eventuality and that is why he took care to maintain a close contact with the Marathas[54]. The emperor, it appears, did not accept Shahu's proposals and the Marathas sided with the Nizam. On January 27, 1724 Bajirao left Satara to join him at Aurangabad where he reached on June 21. Three days later Nizam-ul-mulk issued the Swarājya Sanad.

As before, Shāhu's Wakil, " Mahag Punt," represented that his master had the *Firman* of Swarājya granted to him by the emperor Rafi-ud-darjat, but he required the Sanad from " the Duftur khana of the minister " and the Sanad " with the great minister's seal." " It is the custom ", he added, " that the Sunnud of the Daftur Khana of the minister of the Deccan without the Sunnud with the great minister's seal, except with damad fazul (?) is not correct[55]."

The wakil's petition was endorsed by the Deputy of the Viceroy in the following words on June 21 (1724).

" Kusban Beg, Tax Collector brought a zabanee of the order that the request of the lands of the old kingdoms from the provinces of Aurangabad and Beejapore, agreeing with the copy of the great Firman, be written in the name of Rajah Shahoo from the Duftur Khana of the Minister and the Dustkatt be placed upon it ; on this account the detail of the transaction has been written[56]."

On June 23, Nizam-ul-mulk issued the following Sanad[57]

1st Seal

Nizamul Moolk Buhadar Futah Jung, Sipah Salar, the deputy of Moored Badshah Fuluk Jktedar Mahoomed Shah 1134

2nd Seal

Mahoommed Shah Badshah Gazee by his Slave Dianut Khan in the year 1116 (sic)

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[50] A Separate Sanad was issued for each province.
[51] Bombay to Co. Aug. 11, 1724.
[52] *Later Mughals* 2, 137.
[53] S. P. D. 10. 1 which contains the details of these terms is a very important document and deserves to be studied in all its details.
[54] See S. P. D. 30. 310. There was yet another between him and Bājirāo on February 13, 1723.
[55] Br. Mu. 26, 606.
[56] *Idem.*
[57] *Idem.*

In these days the Government of the old kingdoms Tulkokun etc., under the provinces of Aurungabad and Beejapore according to the great Firman of Shumsha-ud-deen Mahoommed Rufaf-ud-dajat of which a copy has arrived in the Duftar Khana, with the consent of ten lacs of Rupees as a peshkush to the great Sarkar of which a quarter was promised in three years, the remainder to be sent to the treasury on the settlement of the Revenues, has been fixed to the Rajah Shahoo agreeably to the annexed detail and that he would perform service small and great, and submission and well-wishing towards the Sarkar, to increase the population of the country, to drive away.....all vicious and troublesome people, and to make all endeavour for the performance of these, and not to allow any rascal who may enter his kingdom, to remain there ; and all the Jemindars dwelling therein are to consider him as their master. 12th Shoowal in the 6th Jaloos (June 23, 1724).

One troublesome question about this grant of Swarajya still remained unsettled. It was about the amount of the *peshkash*. It was now decided by the imperial officers that Shahu was to pay not only the premium he had undertaken to pay, but—and this is not generally known—the *peshkash* which his grandfather, the great Shivaji, should have paid but did not pay. The document referring to this matter puts the case clearly and requires no comment. It runs as follows :—

" Formerly in the eleventh year of the time of Husrut Khooldah Makan (*i.e.* in A. D. 1668), agreeing with the writing of Rajah Seevajee the order of Jafur Khan Dewan Ullah, in the name of Mukurramut Khan, who was the minister of the Deccan, arrived that for a country of nine Lacs of Huns forty Lacs of Huns is established as a Peshkush ; of this there is a country of two and half Lacs of Huns with Seewajee and the remainder he does not hold ; on this account there is an order that now eleven Lacs and eleven thousand Huns arrive, and he who possesses the country must return it to the Sarkar, and when another country shall come to him then of it he must enter the money. Agreeing with this as much kingdom as he possesses according to that peshkush on the part of Seewajee shall be fixed, and as much money as he may have collected and of it as much as remains he must give it to the Sarkar ; and besides that when he obtains the Sunnud of the Surdeshmukee; then he must consent to the peshkush ; he has not given it, the sum of Rs. 2,38,74,084 moreover on account of the lands of the old kingdoms of which he now asks for the Sunnud on the part of Rajah Shahoo must be given. On this subject what has been fixed is :—

Rs. 2,38,74,084-0-0

The fourth part Rs. 59,68,521-0-0

The remainder Rs. 1,79,05,563-0-0

Besides this the former peshkush on the part of Rajah Shahoo is to be paid ; of it he has not given a dam[58]."

Further details of these dues are given but they are too numerous to mention. The following entry may, however, be added because it is significant.

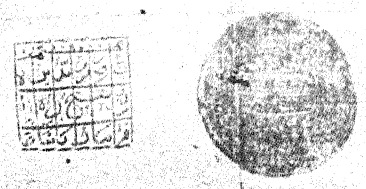
" The Lands according to the Sequel in the Sarkar of Junnar etc., and provinces of Aurangabad on account of which formerly Seewajee Bhoslee the Grand-father of Rajah Shahoo consented to the peshkush of 2,51,790 huns. According to the current value of the year 1077 Fasulee in which 1 Hun (was)=Rs. 3—ans. 12. that sum is therefore equal to Rs. 9,44,216-12[59]."

What amount of peshkash was ultimately paid by Shahu is not known.

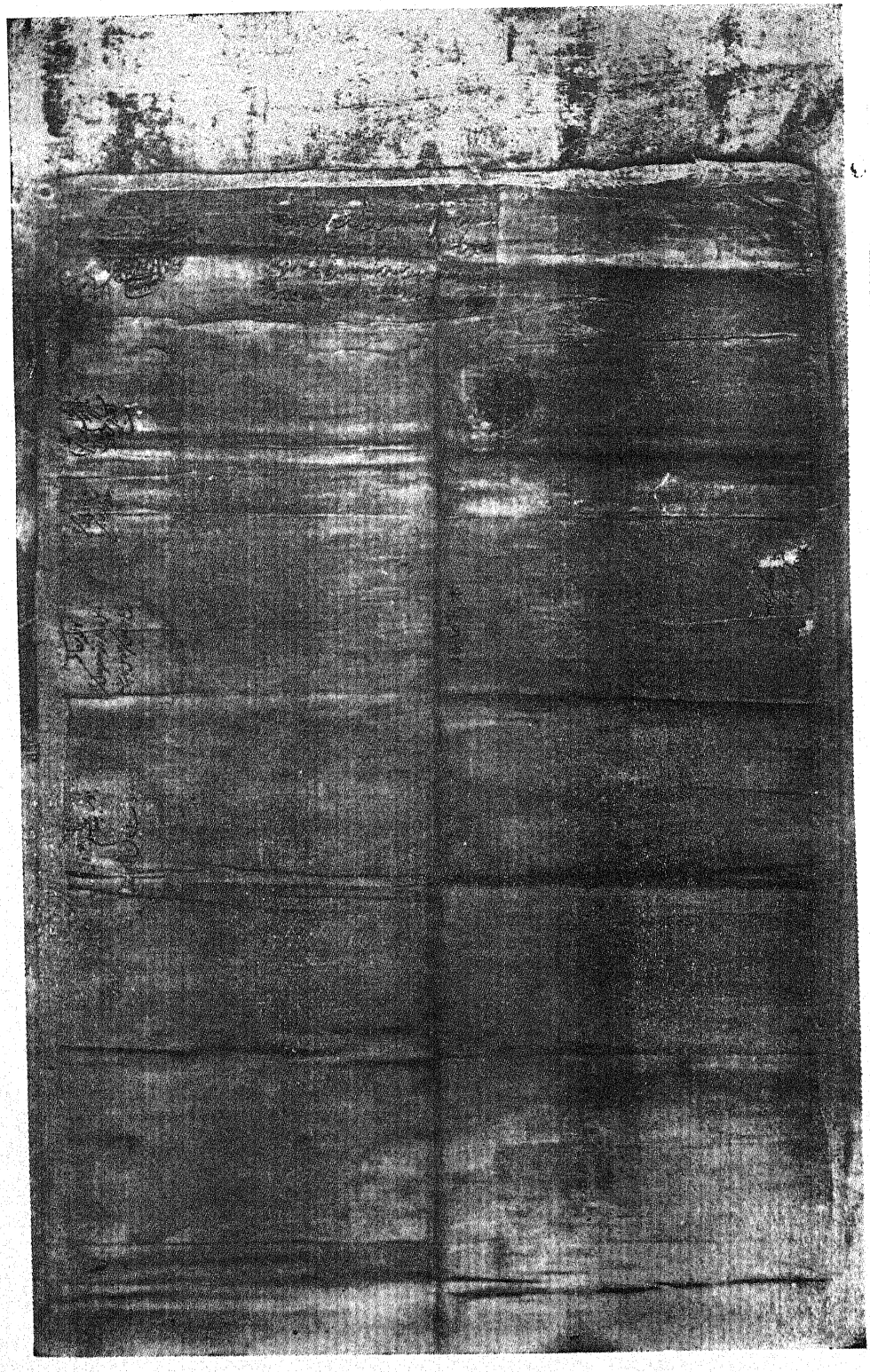
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[58] *Idem.*
[59] *Idem.*

Before concluding this brief account of the acquisition of the Chauth, Sardeshmukhi and Swarjya rights by Raja Shahu, it would have been in the fitness of things to discuss the nature of these grants. It is sometimes said that the contributions which the Marathas levied amounted to nothing less than " blackmail ". Considerations of space forbid a discussion of this question. It is, however, hoped that the papers given above throw sufficient light on the *quid pro quo* of the grants.



A Mughal Farman.



A Mughal Farman.

215(*b*)

GOPIBALLABHPUR FARMAN OF BADSHAH GAZI ABDUL FATEH MAHAMMAD NASIRUDDIN SHAH.

(By Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc.).

While searching papers relating to the history of Mayurbhanj, this Mughal Farman was brought to my notice by the Late Mahanta Nandanandanánanda Deva Gosvámí of Gopiballabhpur. The Mahanta family of Gopiballabhpur are the descendents of Rasikananda Deva Gosvámí who was the first disciple of Prabhu Shyámánanda Deva Gosvámí who has established a family of followers known as "Shyámánandí-Sampradáya". Both Shyámánanda and Rasikánanda preached post-Chaitanya Vaisnavism in the districts of Hughly, Howrah, Midnapore, Singhbhum, Mayurbhanj, Balasore and many other places in Orissa and Chota Nagpur in the first half of the 17th century and through their influence many people of high and low castes including even aborigines, embraced the religion and chief among their disciples was the Maharaja Baidyanátha Bhanja Deva of Mayurbhanj. Gopijanaballabha Dása, a disciple of Rasikánanda, has written a work entitled "Rasikamangala" in 1655 A. D. after the death in 1652 A. D. of Rasikánanda, which is an authentic biography of the great vaishnava apostle. Since the beginning of the 17th century the relation of the Mahanta family of Gopiballabhpur with the Bhanja ruling family of Mayurbhanj has been very cordial generation after generation and the Mahanta family has been endowed with enormous land grants for the maintenance of the family deity. There is another Persian document dated 1771 directing the local officers of Chakla Hughly in Bengal to pay proper respect to the possession of the family and another Oriya letter from Rajaram Pandit, the Marhatta Subadar of Orissa fully establishes the influence of the family in Orissa. The importance of the family is best described in a Bengali letter dated 23rd September, 1803 written to Mahanta Vikramananda Deva Gosvámi by the Magistrate of Midnapore at the direction of H. E. the Governor General of India, regarding the settlement of the affairs in Mayurbhanj just before the conquest of Orissa by the British Government and this Farman is another earlier evidence in their favour.

Moghal Farmans are very rare in Orissa and in that consideration I have made an attempt in bringing this document to the light only to invite the attention of the Persian scholars. I tried my best to get the document on loan and get the text deciphered by my friends in Calcutta or elsewhere but the late Gosvámē as well as his son the present Gosvami were unwilling to part with it even for a few days. I thank them for allowing me to have a photograph of it from which the text in Persian has been made by a local man of Baripada town and the English translation of the text has been prepared by me from a Bengali version compared with the Persian text and so I am not sure how far I have become successful in my attempt.

In the Appendix the Persian Text is given but the text of the seals as it seems is not fully deciphered for the defect in the photography.

The Farman measures 33½-in. × 18¾-in. At the top there are three lines below which are there two seals—one square and the other circular. In circular seal the central circle contains the name of the *Emperor Mahammadshah Badshah Gazi Saheb Qoran Abdul Fateh Nasiruddin*. There are twelve small circles in between the space of the outer and inner circles and the names of 12 Moghal emperors namely—(1) Ibn Babar Badshah, (2) Ibn Humayan Badshah, (3) Ibn Akbar Badshah, (4) Ibn Jahangir Badshah, (5) Ibn Shahjahan Badshah, (6) Ibn Alamgir Badshah, (7) Ibn Shah Alam Badshah, (8) Ibn Amir Taimur Saheb Qiran, (9) Ibn

Miran Shah, (10) Ibn Sultan Mahammad Shah, (11) Ibn Sultan Said Shah and (12) Ibn Umar Shah Badshah are inscribed. The square seal records "*Farman Badshah Gazi Abdul Fateh Mahammad Nasiruddin Shah*". Below the seals follows the text. On the reverse of the Farman are official entries together with two seals one round and another rectangular and one of them records the name of the wizir. "*Quamruddin Hossain Shah Nasratjang Khan Bahadur*". The reverse of the Farman has been pasted with a rough cloth in a careless manner which gives rise to the wrinkles through out the body. The document badly requires scientific treatment but I was not successful in my mission.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT.

(*Obverse.*)

It has come to the notice of His Imperial Exalted Majesty that priest-hood of the Kasba Gopiballabhpur belonging to the Province of Orissa has fallen vacant at the death of Govindananda who was its occupant and Brindaban has prayed for being honoured as a successor to him. His Imperial Exalted Majesty who is as bright as the sun and the master of the world, issued this command of granting the preference to Brindaban of the said Kasba exactly in the same manner and condition under which it was granted to the deceased priest excluding the claim of all others. It is hereby also ordered that all His Majesty's present and future servants should regard him as the sole and permanent priest with the knowledge that he was honoured with all customary rites pertaining to the religion and he should be paid as before by the Zumindars and Adhikaries of Killahs and Mahals belonging to the Provinces of Orissa and Bengal and also the dues from the capital for the maintenance of the temple on condition that he should pray to God for the prosperity of his Majesty's Empire for ever. It is written on the 25th Jamadiul awl in the 14th year of the reign.

(*Reverse.*)

1. Received on the 15th Sawal in the 14th year of the reign.

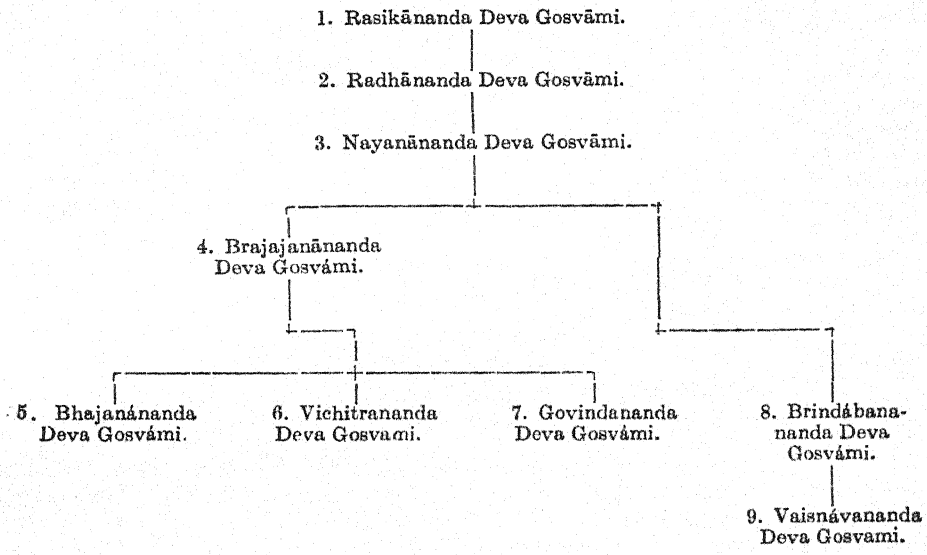
2. Entered in the office of the Dewan Ala on the 29th Ramzan in the 14th year of the reign.

3. Compared, entered and written on the 25th Jamadial awal in the 15th year of the reign.

4. Put up before His Majesty according to the command of the highest of the high.

Note.

The Farman states that Brindaban succeeded Govindananda and their relation is found out from the following geneological table printed in Rasikmanagala.



The geneological table shows that Govindananda was the nephew of Brindábanananda.

There is a copy of Sanad granted by Maharaja Viravikramaditya Bhanja Deva (1711-1727), dated 1713 A. D. stating that he made the gift for the maintenance of a temple at Brindaban which, was in the charge of Adhikári Vichitránanda Deva Gosvámi. The Geneological table given above shows that all the three sons of Brajajanananda died without having any issue and so the succession devolved on Brindabanananda and as there were other claimants for the priest-hood, he thought it safe to have the recognition from the highest authority at Delhi and got it from the Emperor.

I am unable to give the date of the Farman.

In this connection I intend to discuss another Farman of Mahammad Shah, the original of which is missing but its contents go to show that it was issued at the same time to Maharaja Viravikramáditya Bhanja Deva.

There is a printed copy of the translation of the Farman in the State records of Mayurbhanj. In a letter addressed to the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, Orissa, dated the 25th January, 1882 Maharaja Krishna Chandra Bhanja writes as follows :—

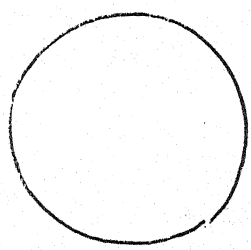
> "A copy of the sanad from the Emperor of Delhi to the Chief of Mohurbhanj, is herewith submitted ; it establishes that the chief held under a feudal tenure from the Emperor. The original Sunnud was filed in Mr. Wilkinson's Court at Ranchee or Hazureebagh either by Raja Treebikram Bhunj or Jadoonath Bhunj."

Trivikram Bhanja ruled from 1811 to 1828 and Jadunath Bhanja from 1829 to 1863 and Major T. Wilkinson was Agent to the Governor General of the South West Frontier Agency from 1833 to 1838.

The printed copy contains the following :—

" In the name of God, Great and Good.

Firman of Mehommed Jehan Shah Bahadoor.



" The humble memorial of Moharaja Pura * Bikramjeet Bhanj Deo, Bahadoor, MUSNUD NASHEEN of Mohurbhunje in the Province of Orissa.

" Soobhnath Bhunj Deo Raootra, brother of my friend, the above Moharaja, having appeared before the Court on his behalf, presented the petition sent by the said Moharaja, which is to the effect, that the Sunnud granted by the Royal Court in the name of Moharaja Baijnath Bhunj Deo, Bahadur, deceased, is lost, and praying that another Sunnud may be granted, Agreeably to the request of the Moharaja, enquiry was made in the Khas (royal) office, and it appeared that a special Sunnud was actually granted by this court to the said Moharaja, and indeed a copy of the said Sunnud exists in the office. Agreeably to the request of the said Moharaja, therefore, two Sunnuds are awarded to him by His Majesty, and it is ordered that the Chair of the State of the said country continue to be held as heretofore without the interference of any body—that no man or deputy in his territory has any authority whatever—that disregarding the order of any other ruler, the said Maharaja do exercise the same authority within his own country, with the titles he holds, generation after generation, as he does now, save and except that when his services are required for any purpose, he will have to attend before us and carry out the orders.

" Written on the 10th of Jamadial Awal in the 14th year of our reign.

" (Sd.) KAMANUDDIN KHAN HOSSEIN, BAHADOOR,

Wuzier, etc., etc.

" 19th Jamadiassani in the 14th year of our reign.

Kamanuddin
Khan Hossein, Bahadoor,
Wuxier Mohamed Shah
Badshah.

16th Ramjan, in the 14th year of our reign.

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* The correct name is Birbikramaditya Bhanja Deo and this is due to the mistake in reading Arabic 'b' for Persian Hindi 'P' like many instances in Ain-i-Akbari and Akbarnamah and as 'Parbada' for Baripada in Ain-i-Akbari and 'Durga Punj' for 'Durga Bhanj' in Akbarnamah.

" Received on the 11th Shawul in the 14th year of our reign.

" Entered in the office of the Dewan Ala on the 15th Ramzan of the 14th year of our reign.

" Compared. Entered in the diary on the 25th Jamadial Awal of the 14th year.

" Entered on the 17th Ramzan of the 14th year.

" The great firman was written by order of His Majesty."

The text of this lost Farman is very similar to that of the Gopiballabhpur Farman of Mahammed Shah and so it may be that the brother of Maharaja Viravikramaditya Bhanja Deva and Mahanta Brindabanananda Deva Gosvámi or his representative went together to Delhi and got the Farmans. Maharaja Baijnath Bhanja Deo of this Farman is no other than Maharaja Baidyanatha Bhanja Deva who was a disciple of Rasikananda Deva Gosvámi and according to " Rasikamangala " he expired before 1630 when Shyamananda breathed his last at Kahnupara in Mayurbhanj State where there is his *Samadhi*. The historical value of this Farman granted to Maharaja Viravikramaditya Bhanja Deva was doubtful before the discovery of the Gopiballabhpur Farman of Mahammed Shah now published for the first time.

فرمان بادشاه غازي ابوالفتح شاه نصرالدين محمد

بعرض اشرف اعلي رسيد كه سجاده نشين قصبه گو پي بلبهه پور

تعلقه صوبه اديسابه گويند انند مقرر بود او فوت شد بندرابن متعلقه

مذكور اميدوارست كه ارث بجاي او سرفرازي يابد لهذا حكم جهانمطاع آفتاب شعاع شرف نفاذ يافت كه سجاده

نشين قصبه مذكور بلاشركت غيرے بدستور متوفي مسطور بنام بندرابن مذكور مقرر و مسلم باشد بايد كه متصدان

مهمات حال و استقبال اورا نسلاً بعد نسلاً و بطناً بعد بطناً سجاده نشين آنجا مستقل دانسته ديگريرا سهم وشريک

او ندانند و نگر دانندو جمع لوازم و لواحق ايں كار باو متعلق شناخته وجه زمين و كندي و غيرة هرچه از معمول

از زميندارات و ادهكاريان قلعجات و محالات متعلقه صوبه مسطور جنت البلاد بنگالة مقعودست باوميد هانيده باشند

كه صرف بااحتياج خود نبوده به عبادت الهي و دعائے بقاے دولت ابدمدت مواظبت مي نموده باشند و قدعاً نمايند

كه اعدے بهيچ وجه من الوجوه مزاحمت باونر سانند دريں باب تاكيد دانند بتاريخ بست وپنجم شهر جمادي الاول

سال چهاردهم از جلوس والا نوشته شد -

RAJARAM AND THE PORTUGUESE.

(By Cavaliero Panduranga Pissurlencar.)

The tragic end of Sambhaji (March 1689) greatly provoked the Maratha chiefs who, gathering in council, decided to continue the war against the Mughals. At this critical moment they chose Rajaram as regent for Shahu, who was then six years old.

Rajaram, however, did not think it safe to oppose the Mughal forces in Maharashtra and therefore, left his native country and sought refuge in the far away fortress of Jingee in Madras.

The journey of the Regent was fraught with grave danger due to the vigilance[1] of the Mughal Government which for this purpose even sought the co-operation of the Portuguese in Goa. In the Government Archives at Nova-Goa, there is to be found, on this subject a copy of a letter written by the Governor D. Rodrigo da Costa Nawab Bahadur Khan, dated May 12th, 1689, in which may be read the following[2]: "I received your letter and was much pleased to hear good news about you, and that you are in our neighbourhood. I wish that you may always enjoy perfect health and remain happy. In that letter you inform me how Rajaram has retired from his mountain home at Rayri, to the fortress of Javlly, and has spread rumour that he has gone to Jingee q.....(?), so that with this stratagem he might escape into the Karnatak, and that the Mughal Emperor has ordered that he should be arrested dead or alive. You recommend me that in case the said Rajaram passed through these lands I should also do the same to him and remain careful setting the necessary watches so that he may not escape from the deserved punishment, as the good friendship and amicable relations which the Mughal Emperor has with this State demands it. I immediately sent an order to Desai Khem Saunt that he goes to your presence but he replied that as he was in mourning on account of the death of his mother, he could not start immediately, but that he would do so as soon as he had performed the death rites, and that, in the meantime, he had sent ahead his nephew Babu Dessai and Mamba Saunt with some people, ordering him to mobilise others who were scattered over several places. I shall take care to order him to proceed with the greatest possible haste, since you tell me that you have resolved to send him to Kudal [3] with your force, to destroy the enemy". Another letter of the above mentioned Governor, addressed to the same Nawab[4] dated the 3rd of September 1789, reads thus: "I have received both of your letters. One was delivered to me by Ahmad Sarangue and the other was brought by a vessel. In it you have asked me to keep the necessary watch both on land and sea in order to capture Rajaram who is said to be trying to escape into Karnatak, where he expects a treasure which should be seized. I received another letter from you on the same subject previously. In compliance with it I arranged for the required watches. Now, with this second warning, I shall have then reinforced so that he may not escape, though I much doubt if he would care to come this way, for I think he will be more secure in other parts. You may be sure that I desire very much to support the cause of the Mughal Emperor, and I shall do on my part every thing that the good friendship between the two kingdoms demands".

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[1] *Vide* J. Sarkar, Hist. of Aurengzeb, Vol. V, p. 25; C. A. Kinkaid, Hist. of the Maratha People, Vol. II, pp. 73-74; G. Sardessai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol. I, p. 648 (2nd ed.) etc.

[2] Livro dos Reis Vizinhos No. 4, fls. 75 (Goa Records).

[3] Cfr..... The letter of the Governor D. Rodrigo da Costa written to the Dessay Khema Savant on 10th June 1689: "I received the letter of the Dessay Khema Savant, in which he once again repeats to me the same what he had written before, namely of the honours shown to him by the Nawab Bahadur Khan, and of the success he met at Banda, and the retreat of the enemy of Kudal....." (Livro dos Reiz Vizinhos, No. 4, fls. 78).

[4] He was at this time Capt.-General of the provinces of Belgaum (Reiz Vizinhos. No. 4, fls. 75).

Notwithstanding the great vigilance of the Mughal Government, Rajaram succeeded in reaching Jinji[5] safe and sound where he consolidated his power and assumed the title of King. It is there that various chiefs from Maharashtra went to render homage to him [6] and among them were some Desais of South Konkan (then in the Portuguese Territory) who had revolted against the invaders [7].

The Portuguese Viceroy wrote the following letter giving an account of the political situation to the King of Portugal dated at Goa, January 16th, 1691 [8]: " As one of the chief causes of the calm and peace which this State at present enjoys is that our bordering states are divided and at war among themselves, I thought of rendering an account to Your Majesty of the succeesses of the war of the Mughal Emperor against Rajaram, Sambhaji's brother. The Mughal King after having captured Sambhaji put him to death and proceeded with the conquest of his territories; but as his brother Rajaram escaped from the mountain of Panhala which the Mughal had besieged, he ordered that a division of his army under his son Prince Sultan Tara should chase him. The Prince surrounded the Queen of Kanara who was reported to have allowed Rajaram to pass through her kingdom [9] in such a way that the latter after taking several of her fortresses and entering her court at Bednur had compelled her to retreat and seek peace, surrendering three fortresses out of those which she had in the Ghats and belonged to King Adil Shah, and offering to pay him in three years eighteen lakhs of pagodas which are more than eighteen millions. She immediately handed over to him six lakhs representing the first year's instalment. The Mughal Emperor being apprised of this did not feel satisfied, for his intention was to conquer the Kingdom of Kanara as he had conquered those of Bijapur and Golconda, and, when he recalled the Prince, his son, to his presence, the prince did not obey his order, fearing that he would put him to death or imprison him as he had imprisoned his eldest brother, Shah Alam, for not having subjugated Konkan in 1684. The said prince Sultan Tara withdrew to a mountain which practically means that he rebelled against his Father.

" The Mughal Emperor encamped in a village near Bijapur whence he conducted the war, sending his bands of cavalry and infantry forces under his generals to the places which seemed to him necessary; however God sent a plague on his army and this, as it is reported, cause the death of hundred and twenty thousand men, besides horses, elephants and camels. Owing to this he retired to a more distant village called Bedry where he is stationed at present with forces so diminished that the generals of Rajaram have found many an opportunity to use their cavalry and infantry, now divided into several regiments, carrying their hostilities in the lands

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[5] In Vol. XV, doc. 347 of the work *Marathianchya-Itih Sadhanem* by Rajwade there is a reference to the arrival of Rajaram at Jingee. The same document is dated April 1690.

[6] Cfr. Chitnis, Rajaram, p. 43 (3rd ed.); D. V. Apte. *Itihassa Manjiri*, p. 131, and a Marathi document of the family of the Dessays of Bicholim, of our collection.

[7] Cfr. Letter of Dom Miguel de Almeida, written to the Mughal General Abdul Rizakhan, on 15th August 1690: " and concerning what you as me that I should order the arrest of the families of the Dessay of Manery and Sanquelim and of Sonu Sinay for having rebelled against the Government of the said Mughal; and I have been informed that the cause of the rising of those Dessais proceeded from Rajaram assuring them he would send them help of infantry and cavalry (Reis Vizinhos No. 4, fls. 90)... ". " I do not know if captain of the district has consented in it the families of the Dessays of Chandravady as you say, for I have ordered that no families should pass to this side from those who have made common cause with the enemy Rajaram after revolting against the Mughal Emperor ..... " (Letter of Dom Miguel de Almeida to Sarbaza Khan, Governor of Phonda, dated 26th October 1690, in Reis Vizinhos No. 4, fls. 90v.) Only Khema Savant remained faithful to the Mughals. Since the beginning of the year 1689 the fortress of Phonda was belonging to the Mughals, and Sarbazakhan was its first Governor.

[8] Livro das Moncoes do Reino, No. 55B, fls. 424-425.

[9] According to the Persian Chronicles *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, the Queen of Bednur kept Rajaram in hiding in her kingdom in order to free him from the persecution of the Mughal (Sarkar, *Aur. Vol. p. 25*) confirmed by Kanarese historical poem Keladinrpavijaya, pp. 160-62.

of the Ghats. Although they came in sight of the Moghul Emperor, they did not venture to atatck him for the latter was well fortified with a great quantity of artillery, but coming across other Mughal generals they formed a pact that they should conduct the war gently without harm to either party. Having received from the other side large sums of money, the Mughal generals, who only wish that the wars should not end for as long as they last they will have enough to eat, have been persistently practising deception on the Emperor who is under the false impression that they are discharging their duties, while it is a mere illusion.

"In order to pay such a large sum of money the Queen of Kanara has imposed heavy taxes on her subjects to their great vexation, and she has gone so far as to sell to Adarrayo, an enemy of the State, the fortress of Ullala situated on the river Barcelore, on the Malabar Coast, for three lakhs of pagodas which have been promised to her. But this has not been carried into effect yet, because the Queen wants that it should be given to her immediately, before even the fortress is handed over and Adarrayo insists that he would pay after taking possession. Would to God that they do not come to a settlement, for otherwise, it will be very troublesome for us to transport rice from Kanara.

"The failure of the Imperial Government to send reinforcements to the Mughal Emperor and the treacheries practised by the nobles of the Empire have convinced the Desais of Konkan of the decaying state of the Mughal power. They have accordingly withdrawn from the Mughals the allegiance that they had promised him and have gone over to the side of Rajaram. What has induced them to do so is that they belong to the same caste and religion as he and they could not tolerate the insolence with which the Muhammadans violated the Hindu women and profaned their temples thereby wounding their religious susceptibilities. Thus they have all risen against the Governor of Phonda, Sarbaza Khan and General Abdul Riza Khan, who has returned from Kudal, where he was posted at Bicholim. Both these Mughal officers are afraid of the power of Rajaram's men who have on several occasions plundered villages adjacent to Phonda and have once again besieged it. There have been several encounters in the operation [with the Imperialists]. They are without cavalry, for the few horses they had are dead and the General Abdul Riza Khan tried to ensure the safety of his wife and belongings by sending them to an Island situated on the river, with the permission of the Governor, our predecessor, who ordered facilities for his passage to be given. At present having been called to the presence of the King he has taken away his wife, and being grateful for the courtesy which has been shown to him during his stay in our neighbourhood has written to us to inform if we wanted anything concerning the State to be represented to his Royal Master. Availing ourselves of this offer and opportunity we have written through him a letter offering our congratulations for the Kingdoms that have been conquered and assuring him of our friendship and good relations.

"The facilities which have been offered to the Mughal Government for the passage of their subjects (through our territory), have also been allowed by us to the people of Rajaram. Previously on several occassions he wrote to the Governors Dom Rodrigo da Costa and Dom Miguel de Almeida, requesting them to renew the alliance of peace and friendship which this State formerly maintained with Shivaji, his father. Of late years he has been repeating this request. We have responded to it with the same demonstrations of friendship (as we did in the case of the Mughals) in such a manner and with so great a care that both the vassals of the Mughal and those of Rajaram believe that this government is inclined to the interest of either. The affairs of these two princes remain in this state, and we think that the Desais and the other vassals of Rajaram, as they persist in the war, will become master of Phonda and Bicholim. It is more convenient to the State to have as neighbour the Hindus rather than the Mohomedans, for these never keep their word and are

insolent and more quarrelsome. Although to all outward seeming we are observing an attitude of neutrality and disinterestedness and none of them has shown any sign of discontent, we are always ready with our arms in hand ".

The friendly relations with the Portuguese encouraged many officers of Rajaram, to leave their families in the Portuguese territory. Under the pretext [10] that the Portuguese authorities, especially the general of the North, Tristao de Mello, were favouring the Marathas, the Mughal General Matabar Khan, who was encamped at Bhiundi, declared war on the Portuguese. Basing his accounts on the correspondence of this general's secretary preserved in the India Office Library, Sir J. N. Sarkar says that the Mughals attacked the fortress of Bassein, set fire to a church outside the walls of that fortress, and completely routed the Portuguese ; but that the Viceroy succeeded so well by *diplomatic* means, in working on Aurangzeb's feelings that the latter ordered the immediate cessation of the war and the restitution of the prisoners and booty carried off from the Portuguese villages. But from the Portuguese documents one learns that the Mughal Emperor, in making amends for the damages caused to the Portuguese by the war, had ordered Matabar Khan to pay them an indemnity of two lakhs of rupees [11].

On the subject of this war, the Governor D. Rodrigo da Costa, in his letter dated the 24th January, 1690, said [12] : " The Moghul is stationed with a large army at Bhiundi and Kalyan which is on the confines of the territory of Bassein ; and several times attempted to pass through our territories. But it was never allowed, We excused ourselves with good excuses which will be of advantage to us while they serve their end, for, if they attempt to pass through, there is no one in India that can prevent it. Taking this into consideration I have sent to the North the entire force available in Goa.....keeping here companies with four. six or eight soldiers, and these are useless and in such a state of misery that from everywhere comes to me a demand for men. There are no seamen, and the few that are here will bear testimony to my contention better ". On the 12th of December 1693, the Viceroy Dom Pedro Antonio de Noronha thus wrote to the King of Portugal [13]..... The shortage of ships and people (in which I found the State), I bring to Your Majesty's notice because as there (in Mozambique) I was informed by the ships of Damaun, of the wars going on at Bassein ; I soon resolved to go to its aid with the people about me ; however neither God permitted that I should render this service to Your Majesty nor the country needed it for the war *had already ceased*".

The Viceroy Dom Pedro Antonio de Noronha left Mozambique on the 21st April, 1692 and reached India on the 25th May of the following year [14]. From this it may be concluded that the above war took place in 1692, and ended before the arrival of the Viceroy, who even wrote the following in his aforementioned letter ".....This year I obtained news that the same enemy was carrying on fresh activities to continue in those territories the same designs, and although I wished very much to proceed to the North to oppose him, the scantiness of our resources, and the reasons which the council of the State proposed to me in reply to the consultation which I ordered to be made over this matter frustrated the wish ; the reason that it was not convenient to go (to war) to expose to the enemy the smallness of our resources appeared to be stronger than my desire. It was clear to me that

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[10] *See* Sarkar, Op. cit., pages 154-56.
[11] *Vide* our book " Maratas em Bacaim ", p. 10.
[12] Livro das Moncoes do Reino, No. 54, fls. 194 (Goa records).
[13] Idem, No. 57, fls. 229 and 230.
[14] Idem.

Viceroy going in person to oppose him would necessarily mean that he should be accompanied by the entire forces at his disposal. It would also mean leaving Goa totally defenceless against any possible untoward event. When the news that I had from land instilled in me some suspicion, I resolved to send the Fleet immediately to the North with all the forces which the time and the affairs of the State permitted me (to collect) and then I sent General Antonio Machado with the charge of the general administration of the troops of the North for I could rely upon his valour, and disposition. I had also faith in favourable reports about him derived from private sources that he would be a great help to us in defending those lands and causing fright to the Enemy. Although, until now I have no news of his arrival, by the warnings that I am receiving neither the fears of an invasion are removed nor have any new developments occurred to make the war, for which we are prepared, a certainty. About the particulars of the said General Antonio Machado [15] I have already informed Your Majesty and on this occasion I informed separately, of the reasons which moved me to send for him from Surat; for, apart from the fact that he has made a request to be heard and to be punished according to his guilt, a request which could not be refused on account of its justice, I thought that it would not be convenient to have in the power of our enemies a man of his standing, for it would greatly, in detriment to the State, help the enemy. Also from the inquiry on his conduct which I remit to Your Majesty I found nothing which proves such a delinquency on his part as should deprive him of the post to which Your Majesty appointed him [16].". The same Viceroy Dom Pedro Antonio de Noronha wrote on this subject to the court on 7th of January, 1694[17]:

"As soon as I have information from Manuel Tavares de Gama, I reported to Your Majesty how the enemy was about to enter our territories with so much assurance that the farmers and the inhabitants of villages had already deserted and that the horses of the enemy were seen on our boundaries, and that the Sidy of Danda was preparing eighty vessels of war to fall upon the Island of Salsette, under the jurisdiction of Bassein. I promptly ordered Belchior de Amaral de Minezes, Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet of the North to go in aid of that coast and prevent the enemy's intended landing in those parts. This succour arrived so opportune that I have been assured by some persons who have come from there that but for the promptness of our precaution the enemy would undoubtedly have succeeded in his accustomed treachery. With the same fear I sent another fleet under Captain Francisco Preira da Silva, consisting of two, a ship and a frigate, and in it has sailed General Antonio Machado de Brito the Governor of those lands in the same way as on the other occasion went Dom Rodrigo da Costa who having arrived at Chaul, repeated the news which already Manuel Traveres had sent to me *viz.*, that the territories enjoyed greater peace".

Thus the war between the Portuguese and the Mughals came to an end. The Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb, as we have said before, ordered Matabar Khan to pay an indemnity of 2 lakhs of rupees, for having invaded the Protuguese territory [18]. In bringing this about the services of Abdul Riza Khan, the then Mughal Governor of the Rairy proved to be very useful to the Portuguese government.[19]

However, the officers of Aurangzeb suspected even after this that the Portuguese authorities had some pact with the Marathas. In order to dispel that suspicion the Viceroy, Count of Villa Verde, wrote to the former Mughal Ambassador

[15] *Vide* Gemelli Careri.
[16] Livro das Moncoes do Reino No. 57, fls. 229v e 230.
[17] Idem, fls. 252.
[18] The Portuguese government sent to the court of Aurangzeb Rev. Fr. Mathias, an Augustinian monk, "a person of the greatest authorities respect and prudence" by whose means he resolved to communicate this business to the King of Mughal (Reis Vizinhos, No. 4, fls. 119).
[19] Persian letter from Abdul Riza Khan to the Governor of Goa.

Shaik Mahamed the following letter dated November 29th, 1694: "Before I received your letter, I had been informed of the damage caused by the Shivajis (Maratha) near Karanja which you complain of and I keenly felt the loss you experienced and the Captain of Karanja should not have taken the precaution to prevent this plunder if he could. Since the time the Shivaji's war with us, we never concluded any truce or peace with them nor were they admitted into any of our ports; but, on the contrary, we are carrying on active war with them whenever we meet them, on the sea or land and as they captured some of our parangs (boats) last year, I ordered one of their ports to be destroyed, all the vessels they had there, and the entire population as well as their temples to be burnt. However I shall advise the Captain of Chaul to try to cause them all possible harm and hostility so that they may be obliged by the loss they suffered to restore to you what they have robbed [20]".

A few days before this letter was despatched, the Marathas made an incursion into Bardez (Goa) and raised a tax from its inhabitants[21]. The Viceroy, Count of Villa-Verde made a strong protest against this act before Raji Sama Rao, to whom he addressed the following letter on the 13th November, 1694: "By the letters which I received some time ago from you, Ramachondra Pandit, and Santagi Ghorpade, I concluded that you were friends of the State because every one so signified it to us, and asserted in those letters; however now I find it otherwise, since you entered our territories and came down the Ghats only for the sake of plunder. This action is so foul that I am astounded at it. Were it not for the faith with which the Portuguese are used to maintain their word, I should have sent order to Chaul to seize the island of Kolaba and Kundry and prevent the supply of provision to the said islands, and to the other Marathas who are to be found in our territories ..... of the North. It is certain that without much difficulty we could do great harm to the lands you possess there or cause trouble to your maritime possessions." You should beware of that. However the Portuguese never quarrel with their friends without just grounds and it seems to me that the incursion of your cavalry into the district of Bardez might be due to some indiscipline among your soldiers without your knowledge. There in order to ascertain the truth I request you to declare whether you are a friend or an enemy, and should you like to make war I am ready for it and shall give pleasure to my soldiers who want to engage themselves in it and my power and army shall not remain idle. If you want peace you should show it promptly by withdrawing your men from our lands without leaving therein a single soldier, and seek peace from me which I shall not refuse, in case it is reasonable. Remember that the loss of all our neighbours was due always to non-observance of it with us and this loss is sure to be greater still now on account of the great forces which I have, and the great reinforcements which have been received this year from Europe. I send this with Ram Krishna Barve who will explain at length what you must do. So I do not emphasise it."[22].

It is not known what was the conclusion of the negotiations carried on by the Viceroy with the Marathas, through their envoy Rama Krishna Barve. Six months later, the Count of Villa Verde, however in a letter addressed to Ganesh Raghunath, on the 15th June, 1695 said that he was ready to accept the friendship of prince Rajaram as his generals and officers were acting as true friends "[23].

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[20] Livro dos Reis Vizinhos No. 6, fls. 20v.

[21] Cfr. " for your men entered our lands; robbed their inhabitants of their cattle which I suppose they returned, and received from the people three rupees per head" Letter of the Viceroy to Rayagy Sama Raza written on November 15, 1694 (Book Reis Vizinhos No. 6. fls. 19v),

[22] Livro dos Reis Vizinhos No. 6, fls. 18v.

[23] Idem; fls. 24.

THE DUTCH EXPEDITION AGAINST GHERIA, 1739.

[By Dr. S. N. Sen, M. A., Ph. D., B. Litt. (Oxon.)].

On the 23rd March 1738, Sambhaji Angria's fleet met near Barcelore a small Dutch squadron of three vessels, the *Noordwoolfs Bergen*, the *Zeelands Welvaren* and the *Magdalena*, then on its way to Mocha and boldly attacked it. After a sharp encounter that lasted for ten hours the *Zeelands Welvaren* and the *Magdalena* were forced to strike colours; the *Noordwoolfs Bergen*, badly battered, retraced her southward course to seek safety at Cochim. [1] Her crew were totally exhausted and her artillery put out of action. The two captive ships lost nearly one third of their men and the survivors were carried to Sambhaji's headquarters at Gheria. The Dutch Commander of Malabar, Stein Van Gollenesse, demanded immediate restitution of the men and boats and compensation for the damage done, but Sambhaji replied with characteristic irony, "if you had made peace earlier, we would never have taken these, but now we met them in time of war. As to punishment which you propose, you have felt our power once or twice and in future you will know it again." Apparently some measures stronger than verbal protests were called for. This was not the only occasion when the Angria had given offence to the Dutch. In 1703 Sambhaji's father, Kanhoji, had captured a Dutch man-of-war of thirty guns and in 1710 he made prizes of a Dutch sloop and a galley.[2] How the Dutch retaliated we do not know, but from the concluding sentence of Sambhaji's retort, quoted above, it appears that peace had not been formally concluded between the Dutch and the Angrias, and in law as well as in fact they were at war till that Sunday morning in March, 1738, when Sambhaji's sea-men encountered and worsted the Dutch men-of-war.

Exasperated beyond endurance the Dutch decided to strike at the centre of Sambhaji's power and next year a grand fleet of fifteen sails was mobilised under the command of Reinicus Siersma. The instructions issued to the Commander-in-Chief [3] briefly referred to the "piratical" misdeeds of the enemy and offered detailed information about the fighting strength of every unit under his command. They went further and specifically laid down in what order the ships were to sail. This interesting document has not been so far published and may, therefore, be quoted in full. Such were the instructions framed for the benefit of Admiral Siersma:

"The Angreans, a nation of pirates in the North of Malabar, latitude 16 á 19°, have made themselves notorious already for a long time in these countries, by their continuous piracies on the sea, to passing ships, and since the last 10 to 20 years they have so grown in daring and strength that they have not desisted from attacking the formidable ships of European nations, and have captured several, as the English ship "*Derby*"[4]; they attacked the frigate *Adriana*, and the ship "*Noordwoolfs Bergen*" from Cochim, the yacht and the sloop "*Zeelands Welvaren*" and "*Magdalena*", all three destined for Mochia, the same year. The *Adriana* alone could by heroic resistance save herself under the forts of Soendadoenga [5] belonging to Siwagie,[6] but the last three having left the harbour of Cochim together, to sail to Mochia, were attacked in the neighbourhood of Goa on 23rd March, and were

[1] For details see Sen, The Angrias and the Dutch, *Calcutta Review*, February 1938.
[2] Sen, *ibid*.
[3] The three Dutch documents quoted in this paper are in the custody of the Madras Government. I am indebted to the Rev. Father Fruytier of Madras for the English translation.
[4] Captured in 1735.
[5] Obviously Sindhudurg or Malwan then under the jurisdiction of the Raja of Kolhapur.
[6] Van Gollensse calls Khem Savant of Wari a Siwagie, probably because technically he was a feudal noble of the Kolhapur State.

forced to take flight after their crew had fallen into the hands of the pirates [1], as is described minutely in the enclosed copy of the declaration of the officers of the ships "*Noordwoolfs Bergen*"[2].

We have not failed to demand the restoration of the lost ships, and to claim a reasonable satisfaction, but these pirates have not only refused this, but answered in an insulting way.

The Honourable Company have on this account decided by an order of 3rd August, 1738, to take such measures and actions to repress the aforesaid pirates and to secure fair satisfaction for the offence against the Company, and to use such force as will in future make the Company's power respected. Therefore in compliance with the Honourable Company's proposal, we have mobilised a formidable squadron composed in the following manner :—

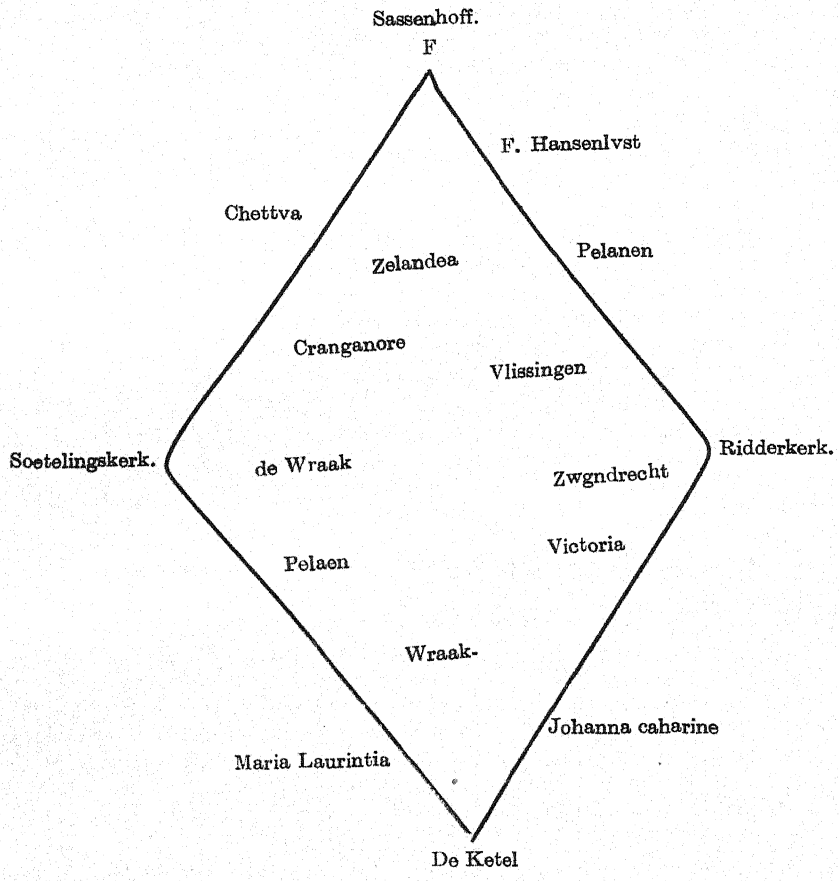
Ships.	Canon.	Sailors.	Military.	Military Native Soldiers.	Total
Sassenhoff	46	85	87	53	225
Soetelingskerke	34	100	78	85	263
De Ketel	44	90	54	84	228
Pelanen	36	69	29	44	142
Hansenlust	24	70	28	90	188
Ridderkerk	26	62	27	41	130
Johanna Catharine	18	47	..	15	62
Zelandea	16	29	..	15	44
Welvaren	22	15	..	..	15
Zwyndrecht	10	17	7	..	24
Vlissingen	8	15	7	..	22
Chettua	8	15	7	..	22
Cranganore	8	15	7	..	22
Victoria	4	28	1	..	28
De Wraak	9	24	1	..	24

We have appointed your Honour Chief of this Expedition, because we know that in the person of your Honour, we shall find the necessary prudence and ability required for such an important expedition, and, therefore, we direct you at the reception o

[1] As mentioned above only the *Noordwoolfs Bergen* succeeded in escaping, the other two were captured by Angria.

[2] Quoted in the *Calcutta Review*, February, 1938.

this letter to go aboard the flagship "*de Sassenhoff*" and to take command of the Company's ships, and sail in the following fighting order :—



Reaching Cannanore you shall ask the Commander to order the sloop *Maria Laurentia* to join the squadron and bring two hundred men already recruited for the expedition.

In Cannanore your Honour will have to change the order of your ships in such a way as to prevent the ships of the pirates, which are generally at this coast, from escaping.

The "*Soetelingskerke*" a powerful ship, and the yacht "*Anna Catharine*" with your Honour's flag on top shall sail to Barsaloor, where you will have the letter in duplicate to the pirates translated in the Marathi language and have the same delivered by land as soon as possible, or if this is not feasible your Honour will have it delivered in the most efficient way.

Also it will be necessary for your Honour to gather all possible information as to where the pirates are at present in hiding, how strong they are, so that you may conduct your campaign accordingly.

If the "*Soetelingskerke*" is attacked, which we certainly do not apprehend, your Honour shall send to her assistance some of the ships, of which you have a sufficient number, so that the above mentioned ship may not suffer any serious loss. If, for some reason or other, losses are sustained, the ships shall be put ashore and handed over to the Resident Christiaan Geyselaar and Hendreck Isaacsz.

Having carried out all these instructions as promptly as possible, your Honour shall sail directly to the capital of the Angreans, Bissente[1], otherwise known as Gerry [2], situated near Carepatam [3], 16° longitude, and the squadron will anchor there with a sea-man's precaution.

The Company's letter shall again be forwarded to the Chief of this nation in the most suitable manner asking for a written answer within twenty four hours as to whether the Company's demands will be complied with or not.

If they seem to be prepared to come to a reasonable agreement, your Honour shall invite them to the flagship and begin discussions, and you shall take special care not to be misled by a people that knows no honour or justice, and not to waste precious time in lengthy conferences. Your Honour will have to strictly adhere to the above mentioned demands, and may alter a few small items as specified by E. Siersma in a secret instruction under urgent necessity alone.

If the pirates refuse to answer, then your Honour shall immediately take all steps to punish the pirates effectively, having first consulted your Council as to what in the prevailing circumstances should be done to maintain the prestige of our nation and the honour of the Honourable Company. Your Honour should decide whether the enemy is to be attacked in his chief fort Bissente and bombarded or whether a landing is to be made in some convenient place, and every thing in the country should be destroyed with the help of some companies of marines. Your Honour should take special care to destroy or burn all the ships of the pirates on your way out and back and in the bay, so that in future they will fear the Company and let her ships pass unmolested.

As it is not possible to give your Honour precise instructions for all eventualities, we leave to your discretion all that your Honour may think necessary for efficiently conducting the campaign after ascertaining the views of your Council in important matters by a majority of votes. The Council shall consist of Mr. Reinicus Siersma, Major Commander, the Captain Jan Dinke, N. Vander Beugghen and Christofell Fuitscius and Lieutenant Jan George Gomeniel and Jan Francis Lasval and the Ensgins Marcus Eicke, Joan Rijtel, August William Goris and Hendrick J. Tollenaar and the Captain of the yatch "*Catharina*" Steven Bade.

Your Honour may remain there till the end of March, but if through circumstances a longer stay is needed to arrive at a final agreement, you may prolong your stay for 19 days or till the middle of April, but in that case we should like that the ship "*de Ketel*" be returned as her services will be required.

The ships "*Soetelingskerke*" and the "*Catharina*" on their return journey shall call at Barsaloor and Cananoor where they will find our orders for their services, but all other ships should return direct. We hope that R. Siersma as Commander-in-Chief and the other Commanders shall execute their mission with great zeal and judgment, and that they shall bear in mind that they are fighting for the East India Company and they shall serve in such a manner that we may be able to commend them for their courage to the Honourable Company.

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[1] A bad corruption of Vijaidurg. Father Fruytier informs me that the reading is somewhat doubtful.

[2] Gheria.

[3] Kharepatan.

Those who are found wanting in the service and may have compromised themselves through indiscipline and misconduct will have nothing but an exemplary punishment to expect so that fear may be instilled into others.

We likewise remind you to keep an account of every thing, specially of the situations of sea ports and bays, rivers and forts, and all that may be useful if we are forced to pay another visit. Your Honour shall also keep us informed of passing events if you have an opportunity either *via* Barssaloor or Crananoor or direct.

The papers for your Honour's guidance are the following

Ordinances of the Commander Wolfsbergen, dated 25th March, 1738.

Journal of the yacht *Adriana* on her journey to Wingirala [1], dated 1736.

A translation of certain English letter and some charts.

The disposition of such artillery, ammunition and other necessities which have been shipped for this expedition. Your Honour will find 20,000 pounds of gunpowder and a great quantity of necessaries which your Honour will distribute among the ships according to their need, especially gunpowder.

Copy of a letter of the undersigned Commander to the English Commander Mr. Stephen Laith[2], in which the conditions are described on which the company will make peace with the Angreans. English papers delivered to the Chief of the expedition and other ordinances wherein we advise your Honour to keep the strictest discipline among the men and to secure this we expect the officers to set a good example. You shall take special care that religion and daily prayers are upheld and observed, so that your undertakings may receive God's blessing for the expected success which your dear friends wish you from all their heart.

COCHIM ; (Sd.) G. W. VAN IMHOFF.

8th February 1739. J. V. STEIN VAN GOLLENESSE."

Siersma was also provided with two drafts of the conditions under which peace might be concluded with Sambhaji and the articles of treaty which he was expected to accept. The instructions left the Dutch Commander little discretion about the terms to be offered to the Angria chief, but a cursory glance at the documents, quoted below, will convince the reader of their peremptory character. A man of Sambhaji's temper could hardly be expected to accept such humiliating terms unless he was reduced to the last extremities, but strong as the Dutch fleet appeared it was hardly powerful enough to wipe out the Maratha fleet from the high seas and to reduce the rock girt naval strongholds of the Maratha Admiral that had so long defied the might of the other seafaring people of the coast. Although the instructions quoted above mention only a fair satisfaction for the loss sustained, the drafts aim at nothing less than the reduction of the Angria chief to a state of complete vassalage.

I

" Conditions of the Treaty on which the Commander of the expedition against the people of Angrea and the Chief Sambasy Angrea Sarkel may conclude peace.

1. Sambasy Angrea Sarkel shall agree by a solemn deputation to Cochim to humble himself before the Honourable Company and to beg their pardon for the audacious attacks on their ships made by his people for several years and, specially, for the attack on the ship " *Noordwoolfs Bergen* " and the capture of the yachts " *Zeelands Welvaren* " and the " *Magdelena* " in the year 1738, later transported to Mochia.

[1] Vingurla.

[2] Stephen Law, Governor of Bombay 1739—1742 ; granted regular commission in 1738.

2. The above mentioned captures must be restored and the loss sustained in the last case of Rs. 80,000 be paid, but losses caused to several of the Company's ships on other occasions will be excused.

3. Compensation shall be given to all the men who are still detained in Sambasy Angrea's territory from the lowest to the highest without any deduction for the rations given.

All such goods shall be restored which the Commander of the fleet or other members of the fleet can prove to have been robbed, either through an inventory or otherwise by arbitration.

4. If the above mentioned ships are still in existence Sambasy Angrea shall be bound to return them, and if they are out of repair they must be repaired so that they may be brought to Cochim. The expenses of the repairs may be deducted from the above mentioned sum of Rs. 80,000. For other damages a sum of Rs. 10,000 must be paid provided that the equipment, cannons and ammunition as per inventory are returned as well as materials, such as sails etc. needed for navigation.

5. Sambasy Angrea shall bear the expenditure of the expedition and pay the Company Rs. 100,000 (One hundred thousand) or an annual contribution of Rs.10,000 (Ten thousand), which amount shall be paid yearly at Cochim before the end of April.

6. The present Chief of the Angreans and his successors to the Government of the State shall every year, through a solemn deputation to Cochim, solicit the continuation of the Company's friendship and encourage the same. The Company shall show the deputation the same honours as are done to their Malabar allies.

7. All ships of Angrea shall, if they meet the Company's ships on the sea, lower their flag and strike their sails until they have made themselves known to the Company's ships, in such a manner as will be laid down in a separate agreement.

8. The ships of the Company shall be allowed to enter the harbours, bays and rivers, belonging to Sambasy Angrea, without payment of the harbour dues or any other levy and the people of Sambasy Angrea shall be bound to supply the above mentioned ships, on payment, all their needs and whatever products they find.

9. The Company's ships in case of attack shall not only be allowed to take shelter under Sambasy Angrea's forts but he shall be bound to protect them with his guns and to assist them with all his power without any fear of treachery as the Company never break their plighted word.

10. If per chance, the Company's ships run the risk of being wrecked near Sambasy Angrea's lands which the good God may avert then shall Sambasy Angrea and his subjects be bound to render them all help, without claiming the existing rights [1] or anything else, except a reasonable reward for those who assisted the Company's ships or saved the men or goods, to be granted at the discretion of the Commander at Cochim.

11. If the above conditions are faithfully observed, the Company will not take any further action for the loss of their ships caused by Sambasy Angrea and his people as long as the free admission into his harbours, bays and rivers is permitted, but if it is not allowed, and if no immediate reparation is made, the treaty will be held as void, and the Company's rights will again come into force and compensation for

[1] According to the prevailing customs of the coast the sovereign of the territorial waters was entitled to all the ships wrecked within his jurisdiction with all their cargo. See Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, Chapter XIII.

guns and other goods lost in former years will be again demanded. If, however, Sambasy Angrea observes the above conditions faithfully and desires the friendship of the Company, and wishes to continue the treaty, then it shall be in force for 15 years, and the Company will see the satisfaction it gives, and also the fairness thereof.

(Given at the City of Cochim, 8th February.)

(Sd.) G. W. VAN IMHOFF.

V. STEIN VAN GOLLENESSE.

II

Articles of the Treaty and agreement between the Honourable plenipotentiary of the East India Company and the accredited Ambassadors of Sambasy Angrea Sarkel, based on the several articles of the Treaty above mentioned, as to how passing ships have to make themselves known.

1. The ships of the Company shall be furnished with a special pass, which shall be completed with a seal and the signature of the Governor of Cochim with such yearly alterations to prevent imitation as the Company shall approve and consider necessary and to which Sambasy Angrea Sarkel shall agree. A copy of this pass shall be given every year to the Ambassadors, whom Sambasy Angrea Sarkel is bound under the above article to send yearly to Cochim, and if, through unforeseen circumstances, this cannot be done, then shall the ships of the Company, sailing for Cochim in the next favourable monsoon, be given the pass of the previous year, and Sambasy Angrea shall by letter be informed of the same and whether the letter is received or not, he, well aware of the fact, that the Ambassadors have not proceeded to Cochim, and, therefore, passes have not been renewed, shall be bound to accept the passes of the previous year as if they were renewed, and make no objection as good faith demands.

2. That, since some ships may not touch at Cochim, and may therefore not be furnished with passes, ships of Sambasy Angrea not excluded, the article of the general treaty as a whole, which gives the ships freedom of passage will in their case come into force. When the Company's ships show their flag to the Angreans homage will be paid to them in the following manner.

3. As it is not safe to rely upon show of flags which can be made use of for its own profit, so that in many cases there may be uncertainty, we have found it expedient to order that the ships of Sambasy Angrea will be allowed to approach within a gunshot's distance of the bow of the Company's ships, and also to hoist the Dutch flag, as provided in the above article 7.

The Company's ship or ships having been sighted they shall be bound to turn to the wind, and put out a boat when they see that one of the Commander is on the way, the boats on either side shall not have more than 7 or 9 oars, and no more men than is necessary for such a boat, and no weapons or anything that may cause suspicion besides a man at the rudder, and an officer to hand in the message. The above mentioned boat shall meet the Company's boat showing her pass, and the officer shall inspect the Angrean original or copy of the pass. The boats will return to their own ships, and Sambasy Angrea's ship shall leave immediately.

4. The same procedure is approved for the Company's ships which have no pass with this difference, that such a ship must have a general sea pass, or a letter with the Company's seal, and shall have to show this to the officer of Sambasy Angrea, and every thing shall be done in the same manner as ordered for other ships so as to have a clear idea as to what part of India the ships may sail.

The ships of Sambasy Angrea wishing to hold up ships, shall arrange it as early as possible to enable the men to return to their ships before sunset, but at night it should not take place, as the rules of prudence prescribe, and all who act to the contrary shall have to take the consequences whereby the treaty with Sambasy Angrea shall be broken, unless it clearly proves to be a mistake, and immediate satisfaction is given for the damage done.

6. That this may happen less often, and that both sides may realise this better, all ships of the Company which pass by Cochim shall be given an authentic letter of inst uction, and Sambasy Angrea shall be bound to do the same to all the captains of his ships, so that they may not plead ignorance thereof.

(Given in the City of Cochim, 8th February 1739.)

(Sd.) G. W. VAN IMHOFF.

J. V. STEIN VAN GOLLENESSE.

The terms were humiliating and hard and nothing but a shattering defeat would induce Sambhaji to accept them. The Dutch could make common cause with other European powers in India to enforce their claims. The Angria had been at open war with the English since 1718. The Angria's fleet was also involved in the hostilities that then prevailed between the Maratha empire and the Portuguese State and the Portuguese had experienced some bad reverses in the very waters over which they had once exercised unchallenged authority. They welcomed the Dutch fleet at Agoada with open arms and suggested that all European nations should pool their resources in a joint effort against the common adversary. Why the negotiations made no progress we do not know. It was certainly not for any lack of sincerity on the part of the Portuguese. Probably the Dutch had a poor opinion of them, or perhaps the memory of the Anglo-Portuguese expedition of 1721 stood in the way of a fresh alliance with another European power. In any case the Dutch fleet sailed to the Angrian waters. The Chief Commander was authorised to land a fighting force in Angria's territories, or to bombard his strongholds or to seek the enemy on the sea. But his movements henceforth are obscure. It is clear that Siersma's grand expedition, on which his official superiors had built such high hopes, accomplished nothing. Obviously he had not landed his troops and it is apparent that he returned to Cochim without fighting Sambhaji's fleet. Van Gollenesse made a veiled reference to the ill-success of the expedition in a memorandum on Indian affairs prepared for the perusal of Siersma himself. " What happened between the Hon'ble Company and those pirates, how they captured the Ceylon and Cochim yatchts and how their Right Worshipfuls wished to take revenge by sending a considerable squadron to that place in the year 1739 under your Worship's Command and what the result of this was need not be related here, because all this is fully known to your Worship and can be read in the records. Their Right Worshipfuls have since ordered by despatch, dated 30th October 1739, that they must be injured in every possible way until they make honourable amends."[1] Despite the best efforts of the Dutch the Angria waxed stronger and stronger until in 1742 his Captains boldly entered the roadstead of Calicut, the southernmost point hitherto reached by them, with seven big and twenty three small ships and inflicted immense loss on the merchant-shipping, foreign and indigenous. The Dutch could do little to curb Sambhaji's power and the conquest of Gheria was left for another maritime nation of the west with whom they had once contested for the supremacy of the sea.

[1] Galletti, Burg and Groot, *The Dutch in Malabar*, page 69.

GIPD—L316 K of Record—28-11-40—570.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

Page.	Para.	Line.	Read.	for.
12	1	30	was fixed	fixed
12	Footnote		Nuzvid	Nuzud
13	1	5	" comma " after	' 50 per cent '
13	1	21	" comma " after	" Foujdar "
13	1	6	carr	car
14	1	4	crop	crip
14	1	8	delete " comma "	after " peishkars "
14	2	17	detele " comma "	after ' Tahsildars '
14	2	22	" comma "	after (*i.e.*, 1801-1803)
14	2	23	to	in
14	Footnote	No. 2	1802-03, No. 454, page 454, para. 55	1809, No. 3570, page 256 et seq
14	Footnote	No. 2 line 2	1809, No. 3570, page 256 et seq.	1808, No. 3583, page 56 et seq
15	1	16	" comma "	after ' sales '
15	Footnote	No. 1 line 2	1809	1899
15	Fotnote	No. 2 line 3	22-23	2-23
16	1	16	laissez faire	Laissaz fare
16	Footnote	No. 2 line 1	2 Tinnevelly	22 Tinnevelly
17	Footnote	No. 3	delete all the lines except the first.	
82	6	3	Muqaddam	Muqaddams
83	1	6	conduct	condust
83	2	line 2 in the tabular statement.	258	28
84	5	8	figure	figures
85	2	2	suspense	suspence
85	5	7	anomalous	anamalous
86		5	unhesitatingly	inhesitatingly
99	3 (first word of)	3	to	in
100	2	9	Jakhera	JakRera
100	2	14	Snaps	maps
100	3	1	well	were
100	3	9	far	par
101	1	1	cloth	Cloth
101	1	11	Amloh	The Amloh
101	5	3	As	But
101	5	3	Mohan Lal	and Mohan Lal
114		29	districts	district
114	1	7	an	and
117		3	Grain	grain
120	4	1	succeeding	secceeding
123	Title of the author		Dr. K. K. Basu, M.A.Ph.D.,	Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A.,
130	,,		Kalikinkar Datta	Kalinkar Datta
132	3	1	Guanims	Gunaims
132	5	15	Muxadavad	Muradavab
133	1	2	(2) after " Subah "	
133	1	7	(3) after " nation "	
133	2	11	(9) after " bought up "	
134		6	(3) after " insolent "	
135	1	8	concocted	connected
136	2	4	serhaud	serhand
139	Footnote	No. 1 line 2	Rai Brij Raj Krishna, M.A., B.L.	Rai Brij Raj Kishen.
139	Footnote	No. 2 line 5	had entered	entered

Page.	Para.	Line.	Read.	for.
139	Footnote	No. 3 line 1	Mufidul Insha	Mufidal Insha
141	Footnote	No. 11	king Basudeva Narain	kin Basudavan
141	Footnote	No. 12	Puritan	Pautan
142	1	10	Patna	Masena
142	2	13	add ' and'	after ' in '
143	1	16	completely	complete by
143	2	10	add ' they '	after ' and '
146	1	2	commands	commends
148	Abbreviations	T.S.C. ch	Tazkira-i-salatin	Tazkua-i-salatin
148	Abbreviations	M.R.A.	Muquddame-i-Ruqqaat	Mugaddame-i-Ruqqalt
148	Abbreviations	T. N. I.	by Husain Ali Ashiq	by Lala Brindaban Das
148	Abbreviations	K. K.	Muntakhab-ul-lubab	Muntakhab-ul-Wahab
149	2	3	موتر	سموتر
150	3	3	(comprised of) Ej Māl	Ej (comprised of) Māp
150	3	6	Ayma	Aima
150	3	7	Raghu Singh	Rangu Singh
150	3	7	Fotakhānā	Eotakhana
150	4	3	after	by
151	1	3	Sarkar	Sarcar
151	8	2	Raghu Singh	Rungu Singh
152	1	17	The following to be added " Son of of Kalyan a Khetauri general of the Pahari Raja "	after ' Rupkarān'
152	Footnote	No. 5	refers to	belonging to
153	1	2	reduced	refused
153	2	1	Fidwi	Fidw
153	(*b*)	1	Browne	Brown
154	2	1	Sometimes with mention	Sometimes mention
154	Footnote	No. 12	India Tracts	Indian Tracts
154	Footnote	No. 14	1876	1676
155		1	Sūbahdār	Subehdār
155	Footnote	No. 17	delete	' upon chatwali tenures '
155	Footnote	No. 17	the following tobe added " These settlers were generally the convicted prisoners of the State "	after the sentence ending with the word 'Government'.
156	2	18	to	For
156	Footnote	No. 22	representative	representatives
156	Footnote	No. 22	Daftar	Daftars
165		6	restoration	restoration
165		15	relate	relates
168	3	9	add " relating to "	after ' military'
170	1	1	Bahmanī	Bahmani
170	1	1	Wazīr	Wazir
171	6	6	Bahmanī	Bhamnai
172		13	Kīsahdār	Kisahdar
172		14	Raīsu'l-Kuttab	Reisu'l-Kuttab.
174	Appendix	No. 29	Sa'īd	Sa'id
174	Appendix	No. 37	Maulāna Ābdur-Rahmān Jāmi	Maulana Abdur Rahman Jami.
175	Appendix	No. 43	Ahrār	Ahraār
175	Appendix	No. 50	Gujrat	Gujarat
175	Appendix	No. 52	Saiyids	Sydes
175	Appendix	No. 54	Balghār	Balghar
175	Appendix	No. 70	Sharfu'd-din	Sharafu'd-din
175	Appendix	No. 81	Alaf Khan	Alaf Khaan
178	1	5	delete " when it was known to them "	
178	6	1	delete " it is proposed also to give out these figures."	
179	3	17	Occupied by	occupied
179	2	1	Taking the evidence of	' taking'
182	Title	2	add ' and Mr. V. Raghavendra Rao, M.A.,B.T '.	after ' Dr. M. H. Krishna
196	2	13	Europe	The Emperor

Page.	Para.	Line.	Read.	for.
201	1	1	Shiwaji	Showaji
201	1	2	discouraged	dis-discouraged
201	4	1	treatise	treaties
202	1	2	Nagaur	Nagpur
204	Footnote No. 6		Vol. 7·4	Vol. 7, 4
209	Footnote	No. 30	3. 99-100	3, 99-100
209	Footnote	No. 35	Later Mughals	idem Mughals
213	Footnote	No. 54	add ' meeting '	after ' another '
223	1	5	now	then
228	1	6	Cochin	Cochim
229	Figures	16	25	24
229	3	3	of	o'
230	Chart	2	Hansenlust	Hansenlvst
230	Chart	2	Chettua	Chettva
230	Chart	3		delete ' Palanen '
230	Chart	5	Soetlingskerke	Soetlingskerk
230	Chart	5	de Wraak	De Wraak
230	Chart	5	Zwyndrecht	Zwgndrecht
230	Chart	6	Pelanen	Pelaen
230	Chart	7	Welvaren	Wraak
230	Chart	8	Maria Laurentia	Maria Laurintia
230	Chart	8	Johanna Catharine	Johanna Caherine
231	1	6	Hendrick	Hendreck
231	6	8	yacht	yatch
232	2	4	Cananoor	Carananoor
235	3	19	Cochin	Cochim
235	3	22	yachts	yatchts

PART III.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEMBERS' MEETING OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.

Proceedings of the Members' Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at the Guest House, Baroda, on Sunday the 22nd December 1940 at 9-30 a.m.

PRESENT.

1. Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., C.I.E., HONY. D. LITT. (*Chairman*).
2. Dr. Sir SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN, M.A., D. LITT.
3. Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., HONY. PH. D. M. R. A. S.
4. Dr. GULSHAN LAL CHOPRA, M.A., PH. D., Bar-at-Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab.
5. Mr. B. B. CHAKRABARTI, B.A., B.L., Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal.
6. Dr. B. S. BALIGA, M.A., PH. D. (Lond.), Curator, Madras Record Office.
7. Khan Bahadur A. F. M. ABDUL ALI, F. R. S. L., M.A. (Additional Member).
8. Dr. S. N. SEN, M.A., PH. D., B. LITT. (Oxon.), Keeper of the Records of the Government of India (*Secretary*).

(For the list of the co-opted members please see pages 7—10, Part I).

Before the proceedings commenced Professor Potdar handed to the Secretary the following resolution :

'Resolved that the Indian Historical Records Commission endorses in general the report of Dr. S. N. Sen, the Keeper of Imperial Records on the Peshwa Daftar submitted to this session and urges upon the Government of Bombay to take necessary steps to implement the recommendations and suggestions therein.' (See item No. 13, page 24.)

The Chairman disallowed it as it had not been previously circulated. The agenda of the meeting was then taken up at 9-30 a.m. and discussions continued up to 12 noon. The result of the discussions on each item is noted below :—

1. Vote of condolence on the death of the following corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

(*i*) Rai Bahadur Kanaklal Barua (corresponding member) ;

(*ii*) Ven. W. K. Firminger (ordinary member in 1919) ;

(*iii*) Sir E. Denison Ross (Late Keeper of the Records of the Government of India and corresponding member) ;

(*iv*) Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.E.S., F.S.S., F.R.Hist.S. (late Principal, Raja Ram College, Kolhapur and corresponding member).

The Chairman observed that Rai Bahadur Kanaklal Barua devoted himself to the History of Kamrup or ancient Assam and wrote a learned book on the subject.

Ven. W. K. Firminger was known widely for his scholarly work in connection with the district records of Bengal and his edition of the *Fifth Report*. He was one of the pillars of the Calcutta Historical Society. Both he and Sir E. Denison Ross

contributed to the columns of its journal throwing much light on the early History of British India. Sir E. D. Ross was the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India and started the series of Calendars of Persian Correspondence.

"Dr. Balkrishna was an active member of our Commission and I greatly regret his premature death. He was a personal friend of mine."

The following resolution was moved from the Chair and passed unanimously, all members standing in silence :—

Resolution 1.—This Commission deeply mourns the death of Rai Bahadur Kanaklal Barua, Ven. W. K. Firminger, Sir E. Denison Ross and Dr. Balkrishna and authorises the Secretary to convey to their relatives a message of sympathy and condolence on behalf of the Commission.

2. Review of the action taken on the Resolutions of the Commission passed at their Sixteenth session held at Calcutta in December 1939 and on some passed at previous sessions (please see pages 17—19).

Being called upon by the Chairman the Secretary read out the resolutions passed at the sixteenth session and the action taken on them was generally approved.

With regard to resolution V about the appointment of a Committee for the selection of papers to be read. Professor Nilakanta Shastri enquired whether it was for this Commission to determine the procedure for the conduct of its business or for the Government of India to lay down the rules according to which we should do our work. He added that the Commission should move the Government of India to leave the matter to it and suggested that the papers offered might as well be circulated to some of the members and their opinions on them communicated to the secretary. Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdul Ali suggested that the papers could be scrutinised by circulation without any cost to Government except a little postage. Mr. D. N. Banerjee objected to the suggestion of Khan Bahadur, for circulation would mean delay, more so in the case of any disagreement between two members scrutinising them. The secretary pointed out that the scrutiny of papers was one of the normal functions of the Local Standing Records Sub-Committee. It was appointed in 1923 by the Government of India consisting of three members and the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India as *ex officio* secretary. When two of the three members left India Sir J. N. Sarkar alone had to do the work. So long as the office was at Calcutta it consisted of local men only. The change of the headquarter and enlargement of the programme of the office necessitated the reconstitution of the Committee to meet the additional requirements. The Local Records Sub-Committee now consists of the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, the Under Secretary of the Political Department whosoever he may be, Dr. Spear and the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India as *ex officio* secretary. The secretary further explained that the existing procedure is essential in view of the decision to print the papers in advance for circulation among members in the form of a brochure. He expressed apprehension that any change in it was sure to cause inconvenience and delay, upsetting the whole programme of work of the Commission. The Chairman then called for a concrete proposal. Professor Nilakanta Shastri then moved that the papers to be read at the next session should be scrutinised by a Committee consisting of Sir Jadunath and the Secretary.

Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdul Ali: I beg to move that the words 'next session' be replaced by 'for the following sessions'.

Dewan Bahadur S. K. Aiyanger: I wish to point out that in the communication from the Government of India it is stated "that it is not desirable to include in its personnel any member who is not ordinarily a resident of New Delhi". The object is quite clear. They do not want any expenditure on it.

Chairman: In the past I have done it in very short time and the postal expenditure never exceeded Rs. 6 and not a single paper was lost. I may point out that I was not posted at Calcutta at that time except for two years.

Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan: One point I should like to stress is that the procedure should be elastic.

The resolution was carried *nem con.*

With regard to resolution VI, the Chairman observed that though there were many valuable records in some States we should move very cautiously in this matter through the Political Department. The representatives of the Indian States attending our Commission may take the initiative in making their respective States interested in the work of the Commission.

Regarding Resolution V of the 15th session (Poona), Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan said that the same resolution was adopted at his instance in 1922, 18 years ago at Delhi requesting the Government of the United Provinces to set up a Record Office. Since then the Provincial Government have not taken any action in this matter and now that the war has come there is no prospect of a fresh resolution of a similar nature having better effect in the near future. The Secretary explained that under the present constitution the Government of India could not force their opinion on any provincial government. The President observed that the situation was that the U. P. Government told us that in half the districts all older records were destroyed during the Mutiny of 1857-58, and the records there available were not older than 1858, but it was explained to us by a member at the Poona session that some records of an earlier date had been saved but these were kept in various places. If action is taken to collect these records in district offices or to place them in custody of one of the universities for a temporary period then they would be saved from further deterioration and in course of time the suggestion should be put up to the Government of the United Provinces by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan without going to the formality of passing any resolution. Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan referred to the difficulties of the research scholars in getting access to the records in the custody of the U. P. Government. He said that nothing could be expected about the establishment of a Record Office in U. P. till the war was over. In this connection he also said, "Two of my research scholars are now working in the Imperial Record Department and they have testified to the facilities which have been increased and offered to them since Dr. Sen took over charge". Dr. R. C. Majumdar said, "We convey our thanks to the Secretary".

3. Indexing of records in the custody of the Provincial Governments and Indian States.

Mr. B. B. Chakrabarti, Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal, has suggested that all pre-nineteenth century records in British India and Indian

States should be indexed in preference to Calendaring and Presslisting and that the work should be expedited with the co-operation of the University teachers and research students.

Explanatory note.—At the instance of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India the subject of indexing manuscript records was brought up for discussion before the Calcutta session of the Commission in December 1939. A set of rules was drawn up for the guidance of the indexer with reference to what may be called the mechanical and formal part of the work and a few index slips prepared according to these rules were placed before the members for their scrutiny. In pursuance of the Resolution II of the Sixteenth Session which approved of the proposed scheme of indexing, an index to some of the Land Revenue Records in the custody of the Imperial Record Department has been prepared and printed, a copy of which is placed on the table. Eminent scholars belonging to different Universities of India, who were kind enough to examine the index, are of opinion that it will fully meet the needs of research students and eliminate the necessity for calendars. The Provincial Governments and the Indian States may be requested to arrange for the preparation of indexes to their pre-mutiny records on the same lines.

In introducing the proposal the Chairman observed that Calendaring was the best method of dealing with records and that calendars were more useful than presslists or indexes. Calendaring was a slow process and this was, he oberved, one of the reasons why it did not progress in the Imperial Record Department. He referred to the publications made by the Madras Record Office. As that office has already printed its records *in extenso* upto 1753 and is now engaged on calendaring the records of the subsequent period upto 1800, he suggested that that office might be excluded from the scope of the proposed resolution.

The Secretary observed that the records which the Imperial Record Department had to deal with were enormously voluminous and that it was not possible to print them *in extenso*. It should not be forgotten that research students will have ultimately to go to the original records whether they are calendared or indexed. Calendars consist mainly of summaries of records and no summary can be so exhaustive as to replace the original records. A properly prepared index will bring out everything that a particular document may contain and a research student will find without any difficulty from an index like the one placed on the table what information he can expect from a particular record. Moreover indexing can be standardised but calendaring cannot be standardised. Calendaring can most satisfactorily be done when the work is undertaken by a single person with the proper intellectual equipment, but it is hardly a practical proposition to entrust to any single individual the calendaring of any big series of records in the Imperial Record Department. He also reminded the Commission that only last year the Commission had unanimously recommended to the Government of India a scheme of indexing the pre-mutiny records of the Political Department.

The following resolution moved from the chair was carried.

Resolution II.—In view of the fact that the Madras Government have printed their records up to 1753 and have the calendaring of records from 1753-65 well in hand, besides having made still further progress with the calendaring of the Revenue Records, this Commission recommends that work at Madras should continue on the present lines. With regard to the other provinces and the Government of India,

as calendaring is more costly and takes longer time than indexing and indexing will serve the immediate needs of research students, this Commission recommends to the other provincial governments and to the Government of India to arrange for the preparation of indexes of their pre-mutiny records on the lines of the *Index to the Land Revenue Records, 1830-37* recently issued by the Imperial Record Department, which the Commission considers to be very helpful.

Resolution II(a).—The Commission further recommends that the work on these lines at the Imperial Records may be expedited by the provision of adequate funds for the purpose, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Indian States through the usual official channel, inviting their co-operation by starting the indexing of their historical records on similar lines.

4. Best method of preservation of Records.

Explanatory note.—Preservation of old records is one of the problems which has been engaging the attention of the Imperial Record Department for some time past. In the absence of any scope for conducting researches on the subject the department sought the advice of several learned institutions in India and the Record offices of England and U. S. A., where extensive investigations have been made about all the cognate problems. It appears that deterioration of paper is caused by—

(1) Chemical changes brought about by moisture and atmospheric gases,

(2) Acid fumes condensing on dust particles,

(3) Ordinary wear and tear,

and the ideal process of repair should be one which takes all these factors into account and adds to the strength of the paper and retard the process of deterioration due to (1) and (2).

It has been found that the reinforcing of brittle records with chiffon or Japanese tissue paper now in vogue in this country does not entirely serve this purpose. The National Archives of U. S. A. concluded after a thorough investigation that cellulose acetate foil if laminated by a hydraulic press adds most to the life and strength of old papers. This method entirely eliminates the need of adhesives and adequately protects the paper so treated from the harmful effects of atmospheric gas and rough handling.

Another serious problem that confronts an archivist is that of preventing the ravages of insect pests. Constant warfare has to be waged against their inroads. The cellulose in paper and fabric attracts some species of voracious insects and others are particularly fond of such book components as glue, starch, etc. Laborious researches conducted in U. S. A. have now satisfactorily established that the most effective way to combat these pests is to fumigate the papers affected in a vacuum vault. Manuscripts have to be placed in a gas tight steel chamber where a large proportion of the air has to be removed and replaced with a gas lethal to insects. The fumigant penetrates into pores and interstices and kills the insects as well as their larvæ within a short time. Bundles containing records need not be opened when they are placed in the vacuum chamber as they have to be during ordinary fumigation.

A hydraulic press of the type required for the purpose of lamination can be obtained from Messrs. R. D. Wood Company, Philadelphia, PA., at a cost of $7,555

or Rs. 26,000 including freight charges. The operating cost of this machine and the recurring expenditure on cellulose products is said to be very small. Compared to Japanese tissue paper and chiffon, cellulose acetate foil is very cheap. Cellulose acetate foil measuring 30″×40″ costs Rs. 35 per ream, or annas 12 per 100 square feet. Chiffon (lissee quality 383/368) 40″ wide costs about 2*s.* 1*d.* a yard, *i.e.*, about Rs. 14 per 100 square feet. The price of Japanese tissue (Thosa B or Mino AA) is about $4·50 per ream. While Japanese tissue paper costs 5 to 6 times more than cellulose acetate foil, Chiffon costs 5 times as much as Japanese tissue. With the introduction of the hydraulic press and cellulose acetate foil, the general outturn of laminated sheets will greatly increase, resulting in actual saving in the near future, so that the initial expenditure of Rs. 26,000 is perfectly justified.

A fumigation chamber ($4\frac{1}{2}' \times 5\frac{1}{2}' \times 11'$) suitable for the vacuum fumigation of records can be obtained from the Guardite Corporation, Chicago, Illinois, at a cost of $3,600, *i.e.*, Rs. 13,000 including freight charges. The operation of the chamber is easy and inexpensive though this must be done under expert supervision.

It seems desirable that lamination of records with cellulose acetate foil and vacuum fumigation should be introduced in all organised Record Offices in India.

The Chairman observed that the Commission should not express any opinion as to the comparative merits of laminating and vacuum fumigation as Dr. Sen and Dr. Baliga differed on the subject. Dr. Baliga did not favour the proposal for lamination, this technical method being of recent growth, the future behaviour of which cannot be predicted with any degree of certainty. In the note submitted by him on this subject he also suggested a less costly method of fumigation in preference to vacuum fumigation. He then called upon the Secretary to place his views on Dr. Baliga's note before the Commission. The Secretary said that he should be excused if he was unable to quote chapter and verse as he had no previous notice of Dr. Baliga's objection. It was only by the courtesy of the Chairman that he had a look at Dr. Baliga's note the previous night. He assured the members that he had not come before a body of experts like the Commission with a resolution without duly considering all its implications. An archivist is expected to be everything from a chemist and entomologist to a book binder. He added that not being a scientist himself he sought the advice of British, American and Indian experts on every technical problem. The records under his custody occupied more than nine miles of running shelf space. The temperature and relative humidity of New Delhi were not congenial to the health of old papers. According to the researches of the American Bureau of Standards the optimum temperature for preservation of records is about 80° and the optimum relative humidity is from 45% to 55%. In summer the relative humidity varies at New Delhi from 9% to 38% and the temperature inside the record rooms varies from 90° to 105°. New Delhi is not so free from insects as Madras appears to be. At present, he said, we repair our old and brittle records with chiffon and Japanese tissue papers. We naturally take into consideration not merely the permanency but also the transparency of the repairing material. The two principal repairing materials now in use are chiffon and Japanese tissue papers. Chiffon is quite transparent and it can be easily removed if necessary but it become brittle in fifteen to twenty years on account of the action of the atmospheric acid on the alkali in silk. Japanese tissue paper on the other hand is more durable but it quickly turns opaque and it is not so easy to remove it once it is pasted on the brittle

record. Cellulose acetate foil is both transparent and durable. Lamination eliminates adhesives altogether and that is an additional advantage. Cellulose Acetate foil is much less expensive than Japanese tissue papers and chiffon. The price of Chiffon is nearly twenty times and that of Japanese tissue paper five times as high as the price of Cellulose Acetate foil. We cannot ignore the time element either. An expert mender takes fifteen to twenty minutes to treat a page of record with chiffon, lamination can be done in thirty seconds. Owing to the war the supply of Chiffon of the proper quality has been completely stopped, that of Japanese tissue paper of the required standard has been greatly limited. But I shall leave the old records in my custody unrepaired rather than expose them to any risk that a new process of repair may involve. Dr. Baliga's objection is mainly based on the reluctance of the British Records Association to try lamination. But it will be seen that the Association always lays special emphasis on the conditions prevailing in England. Indian conditions are quite different from English conditions. In England the adhesive used in repairing records has no arsenic or any other poison. In India we have to use dextrine paste with a good quantity of white arsenic. According to the British Records Association to plaster old records with celluloid solution is injurious to the paper so treated. Lamination does not mean plastering with Celluloid solution. Dr. Baliga argues that lamination has been tried in the National Archives of Washington for five years only and the future effect of lamination on the papers laminated is still unknown. Before the National Archives adopted the new process researches and experiments were conducted in the American Bureau of Standards and the future effect can be more or less accurately ascertained by the accelerated aging test. I referred the question to four well-known chemists of India and they were of opinion that lamination could be safely tried. The foil used is impervious to atmospheric action and also to a certain extent to insects. I am not averse to making experiments. I recently sent three faded documents to Mr. Trivedi of the Poona Photo Registry Office and here you see the results of his experiment. (The microfilmed copies with revived writing were placed on the table).

Now to turn to fumigation.....

The Chairman : You may circulate your note.

Dr. Majumdar : Sir, we want to hear him.

Dr. Chaghtai : What is Dr. Baliga's note ? We have not seen it.

It has not been circulated.

The Secretary : Dr. Baliga is not opposed to fumigation in principle, but he objects to vacuum fumigation on the score of cost. We have been fumigating records with thymol and paradichlorobenzene in the Imperial Record Department for some time past. They are effective against mildew and other minute fungi but not against insects. Even poisoned adhesives are no remedy against insect pests. It should be remembered that we have to deal with different species of insects with different tastes and habits. We have to destroy not merely the adults but also their eggs and larvæ. Some insects feed on the leather of the binding.

Dr. Baliga : The binding may be removed.

The Secretary : It will be more expensive than vacuum fumigation. We have more than 15,000 bound volumes of records in the Imperial Record Department.

Some insects bore into the straw boards others feed on the papers. Some of them are nocturnal in their habits. Again some insects are inactive and inert at a low temperature and the lethal gas is comparatievly ineffective at that stage. To kill them with a poisonous gas it is necessary to regulate the temperature. The lethal gas should penetrate into the interstices and pores of the bound volumes and unbound records and this is possible only in a complete or partial vacuum. The more complete the vacuum the quicker is the action of the gas. Dr. Baliga suggests that every volume and every bundle should be fumigated with paradichlorobenzene for ten days every year. Think of the task when one has to deal with 15,000 bound volumes and millions of old records. It has been found that a compound of carbon dioxide and ethelyne oxide is lethal to the insects but has no deleterious effect on papers and if the initial expenses of providing a strong vacuum chamber are met the vacuum fumigation will prove much more effective and much less expensive. Sir, this Commission will be stultifying itself if it feels unable to express any opinion on this subject and the provincial governments and other institutions may not feel inclined to consult the Commission in future.

The Chairman : To be frank, these things are beyond me.

Professor Potdar : Sir, I beg to suggest that both Dr. Baliga's note and Dr. Sen's observations should be circulated among the members of the Commission and they should then be asked to give their views on the subject.

The Chairman : We are not experts. The British and American opinions are divided on the subject.

The Chairman then moved that the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India be requested to draw up a fuller statement about the merits and demerits and cost of the different methods of preserving and repairing papers and that his note along with that of Dr. Baliga be circulated to the Provincial Governments and the Indian States for such action as they might consider advisable to take in the matter. It was also decided that a note on remedies against insect pests submitted by Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan should also be circulated.

5. Publication of a consolidated statement of historical research work done in different Universities of India.

For co-ordination of historical researches in Indian Universities Dr. B. S. Baliga, Curator, Madras Record Office has suggested the publication of a bulletin on the model of one issued annually by the Institute of Historical Research in Great Britian.

Explanatory note.—The co-ordination of research work done in the record rooms of India and dissemination of relevant information about it have been the aim of the Commission for a long time past and it is to serve that purpose that corresponding members, many of whom are University Professors, are invited to furnish the Commission with brief notes on the original investigations conducted by them during the preceding twelve months. These reports are embodied in the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission as an Appendix. But a more exhaustive record of researches made and investigations undertaken may be attempted if we

can pursuade the Universities and the Provincial Governments to co-operate with the Imperial Record Department in this useful survey. A statement in the following form may be forwarded to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India

Name of the University or the Record Office.	Name of the research scholar.	Prof. under whom the research is conducted.	Subject of the research.	Progress made.	Bibliography.	Remarks.

by September every year and he may tabulate the information thus obtained and publish a consolidated report in the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission for the benefit of research students. This will effectively remove the risk of two or more persons unwittingly wasting their time and labour on the same subject and also enable students working on kindred subjects to correspond with one another.

The Chairman suggested that this was the proper function of the Inter-University Board and therefore no change in the existing procedure was necessary.

The suggestion was accepted.

6. Printing of a consolidated catalogue of Record publications.

Explanatory note.—Research students often want to ascertain what records are available in print. Lists of the records publications issued by the Government of India and the Governments of Bengal and the Punjab have been printed in the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Volumes XIV and XVI. But no lists are available for ready reference of the publications issued from the Record Offices in Madras and Bombay. Printing of a separate consolidated list on this subject is however hardly called for. It will meet the present requirements if a list of earlier publications is attached to any new book that may be issued from a record office. The Commission may accordingly recommend to the Provincial Governments and Indian States that when a new book is issued from their record office, a list of all the earlier publications issued by them may be added at the end with necessary information about price and availability.

The Chairman observed that there are books of 20 to 30 pages only and if catalogue of 100 pages was added to them it would mean waste of time and labour. He suggested that a separate catalogue of the records publications should be issued and the same should be brought up to date from time to time.

After some discussion it was resolved :—

Resolution III.—The Commission recommends that the Imperial Record Department and the Provincial Record Offices should issue separate catalogues of their records publications and bring them up to date from time to time. These catalogues should be circulated among the Record Offices, Universities and the learned institutions.

7. Resolution by (a) Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu (b) Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe.

(*a*) The Commission *reminds* those Indian States which have not yet established their own record department to do so and collect there all historical records and after cataloguing them open those records to research students, which are not objectionable.

(*b*) The Commission is *again* calling up the Indian States to throw open their records to the students of history and to publish selections from them on the lines of the Government of India or Provincial Governments, particularly, Bombay.

Secretary's note.—Similar questions were considered by the Commission in its 1st, 4th, 6th, 11th, 12th and 15th sessions (*vide* Resolutions Nos. II, VIII, III, 15, 6 and 3 respectively). The history of British India cannot be adequately treated unless the records in the possession of the Indian States are studied properly. It seems therefore proper that the Commission should bring to the notice of all Indian States, the desirability of organising record offices for the preservation of the valuable historical documents in their custody and for collecting originals or copies of such documents of historical value as may be found in the possession of the private famalies within their jurisdiction. They may also be informed that such expert help as they may require for the organization of their muniment rooms will be available from the Secretary of the Commission.

The Secretary pointed out that similar questions were considered by the Commission on several occasions in the past and after some discussions the following resolution was adopted at the suggestion of the Chairman :—

Resolution IV.—Resolved that the Commission brings to the notice of the Indian States the desirability of organizing record offices for the preservation of the valuable historical documents in their custody and for collecting originals or copies of such documents of historical value as may be found in the possession of private families within their jurisdiction. They may also be informed that such expert help as they may require for the organization of their muniment rooms will be available from the Secretary of the Commission.

8. Resolution by Mr. Zafar Hasan.

The Commission recommends that a systematic effort should be made to collect and preserve the ancient documents issued by the rulers of the country during the mediæval period.

Explanatory note.—These documents include *Farmans*, *Sanads*, *Parwanas*, *Dastaks*, *Ibranamas*, *Tashinamas*, *Court Judgments*, etc. The state archives, wherein such records had been preserved have ceased to exist and only copies issued to individual grantees are now available. The importance of such records for compiling a social history of the country cannot be over-estimated but unfortunately this valuable source has been sadly ignored.

After some discussion the resolution was rejected and it was suggested that the mover should approach the Director of Archæological Survey.

9. Resolution by Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar.

The Commission should request the Calcutta High Court to transfer the original records preserved in the original and appellate side, up to the period they are of no use to them to the Imperial Record Department where they can be of better use to researchers in modern History.

Explanatory note.—The following is an extract from a letter from Mr. Bhatnagar :—

" I visited the Calcutta High Court in last summer and found that there is an enormous collection of records concerning the working of the Company's courts and the Crown's courts. These very old records are of no use to the Calcutta High Court and as such they cannot devote much time to proper classification. If the records are transferred to the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi, they can be more properly classified and as such will be of great value to the researchers in writing a history of the working of the Company's and Crown's courts."

Secretary's note.—This subject was discussed by the Commission in its first and fifth sessions and a resolution was passed (No. VII of the 5th session) requesting the Government of India to draw the attention of His Lordship the Chief Justice of Bengal to the need of better preservation, classification, repairing and indexing of these records. The Calcutta High Court has an organized record room of its own and adequate arrangements could be made for the better preservation of the old records in its custody if the necessary funds were available. Recently the Secretary had occasion to discuss this question with two of the Judges of the said High Court but nothing has so far materialised. It is understood that the Government of Bengal proposes to transfer their District records to the custody of the University of Calcutta. In case the High Court is unable to find the necessary funds for the proper preservation of these valuable records the local University may be requested, if His Lordship the Chief Justice so desires, to take charge of them.

Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar moved that the Commission should request the Calcutta High Court to transfer the original records preserved in the original and appellate sides up to the period they are of no use to them to the Imperial Record Department where they can be of better use for researches in Modern History. He continued, " I happened to be at the Calcutta High Court during the summer months and I found an enormous collection of records concerning the working of the Company's courts and the Crown courts. They are of no use to them. They have no time to look after them. They are kept like waste papers. Most of them are not properly classified. The Secretary has suggested that they should be transferred to the University of Calcutta. It will serve the purpose if they are transferred either to the Bengal Secretariat or to the Keeper of the Imperial Record Department ".

The Chairman observed that the proper place for these records is the Bengal Secretariat because they deal with the past history of the province and if any paper is immediately called for by the High Court then the Imperial Record Department will be very far. He suggested that if more accommodation is provided in the Bengal Record Office these old records may be transferred to the Bengal Record Office for preservation.

Being called upon by the Chairman Mr. B. B. Chakrabarti, Keeper of Records, Bengal, said " there is little space for the accommodation of any other records in the Bengal Record rooms ".

The Secretary said that the records in the High Court Record Room are in a deplorable condition. There is no arrangement for preserving them and there is actually a proposal for the destruction of the Mayor's court records. Justice Edgley is interested in records and he is trying for their preservation. The High Court should be approached with the request not to destroy them in any case.

The following resolution was then passed at the suggestion of the Chairman :—

Resolution V.—Resolved that this Commission requests the Calcutta High Court not to destroy any of the old records in its custody, but to transfer them to some record office in Bengal or to any University in the Province.

10. Resolution by Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao.

(*a*) Resolved that a representation be submitted to the Crown Representative in Madras that no censoring fee should be claimed in the case of transcripts in hand-writing and that in the case of hand written transcripts there should be no limitation in the number of pages submitted for censoring, provided that the transcripts in hand-writing submitted are legible.

(*b*) Resolved that the censoring fees charged in the Madras Record Office be reduced so that the work of private reserach students may be facilitated.

Explanatory Note.—The following is an extract from a letter from Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao :—

" The existing rules in force for the examination of records in the Madras Record Office have proved a great handicap and a hindrance to private research students especially from moffusil places. My Assistant Mr. N. Subba Rao, M.A., for instance, who was deputed so recently as 1938 for the examination of the Madras Records on Mysore History for the period 1761-1831, was required to deposit for the purpose a minimum fee of Rs. 15. He had not only to take in his own hand the extracts from the records but had to secure in addition a suitable typist to type the matter in the Record Office at the rather prohibitive rate of two annas per sheet of double spaced typescript, for submission to the Crown Representative, while the legible transcripts made by him on the spot were retained in the office, only typescript being returned to him after being incised. Further, even in the taking of extracts he had to restrict himself only to certain portions of the documents and had to observe a due proportion so as to make up *a bare minimum of 75 pages of typescript* for the amount covered by his deposit. The sacrifice of certain longer documents and other passages bearing on matters of general interest thus became necessary from a financial point of view. This enforced sacrifice is proving a serious handicap when the study of the collected materials is taken up later and the work of collation is started far away from the precincts of the Record Office itself."

Secretary's note.—Similar rules have already been revised by H. E. the Crown Representative and the Government of India in respect of the Research scholars conducting researches in the Imperial Record Department. We may suggest that the Madras rules may be modified on the lines of the Imperial Record Department rules.

Dr. B. S. Baliga said that the Madras rules are made on the lines of those of the Government of India and that he had not received the revised rules at the time of Rao Saheb Hayavadana Rao's requisition came.

The Chairman suggested that a copy of the latest rules of the Imperial Record Department should be forwarded to every provincial Government with a request that if action on similar lines is taken it will be greatly helpful to the cause of research.

11. Resolution by Mr. S. A. Shere.

This Commission recommends to the Government of Bihar the desirability of establishing a record office at Patna at an early date and that rules should be framed for the access of students and scholars interested in historical researches.

Explanatory note.—Mr. Shere has suggested that the Government of Bihar should be requested to establish a record office at Patna in which scattered records in English and Hindustani can be brought together and listed and made available to students and scholars interested in historical researches. He also suggests that the question of the appointment of a Keeper of Records in Bihar need not be taken up by Government at the present moment owing to financial stringency and he offers his services without any remuneration for the above work as he is already serving under Government.

Secretary's note.—The Commission (Resolution X of the 13th session) recommended to the Government of Bihar and Orissa to establish a Provincial Record Office and in his demi-official letter No. 45-R., dated the 14th January 1938 the Secretary, Revenue Department, Government of Bihar stated that it was proposed to take up the question of the establishment of a Provincial Record Office in consultation with the Board of Revenue. No further information on this subject is available. The Commission may reiterate their recommendation to the Government of Bihar about the desirability of expediting the establishment of a Record Office.

Mr. Shere withdrew his resolution with the premission of the Chairman.

12. Report of the Sub-Committee on the Resolution by Dr. Balkrishna (I. H. R. C. Proceedings, Vol. XVI, Part III, pp. 8-10).

Dr. Balkrishna suggested the adoption of a ten year plan for securing typescript or microfilmed copies of the records relating to India which are available in the India Office, Holland, France and Portugal.

It was decided to refer the matter to a Sub-Committee consisting of—

The President,

Sir Jadunath Sarkar,

Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan,

Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdul Ali,

Mr. M. M. Stuart,

Dr. G. L. Chopra,

Dr. B. S. Baliga, and

The Secretary.

The following resolution on the subject passed unanimously by the members has been submitted by the Sub-Committee for the consideration of the Commission :—

" In view of the present abnormal conditions it is not possible now to secure copies of records relating to India from European countries."

The Chairman stated that no other course was open to them.

The report was approved.

13. Inspection note of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India on the maintenance of the Records in the Alienation Office, Poona (Appendix A).

The Note was printed and circulated among the members on the day previous to the members' meeting. The Secretary read out a telegram from the Government of Bombay inviting the views of the Commission on this note.

The Chairman moved the following resolution which was carried :—

Resolution VI.—Resolved that the consideration of the report be taken up next year.

14. Reorganisation of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Professor Nilakanta Shastri addressing the President said, "While leaving Madras I came to know that there is a proposal under contemplation for the reorganization of this Commission. May I suggest that we should request the Government of India that no proposal should be taken up without circulating it among the members ? My reason is that this Commission knows what it has been doing and the Government of India are certainly gaining some experience. We have got an experience of twenty years. So I would like to move, if you permit me, that any proposal for reorganisation of this Commission should not be decided without consulting the opinion of the Commission as a body ".

The Secretary said, " There are some tentative proposals and the Government of India have circulated them among the ordinary members and the Provincial Governments. The provincial governments have further been requested to obtain the opinion of the local universities and learned bodies, and most of our corresponding members come from the Universities. At present the proposals are only tentative suggestions and the Government of India may or may not put them into action. They may also modify their views in the light of the suggestions they receive. It is only then that the time will come for placing their proposals before the Commission."

After some discussion the following resolution was passed at the suggestion of the Chairman :

Resolution VII.—The Commission recommends that its opinion as a body should be taken before the Government of India come to a final decision about its reorganisation.

15. Date and Place of the 1941 and 1942 Meetings.

The Secretary announced that the Government of Mysore have invited the Commission to hold its meetings there in 1941. A similar invitation having been received later from the University of Dacca they have been informed that their proposal will be considered if they are agreeable to invite the Commission in 1942.

16. Vote of thanks to the Chair and the Secretary.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair and the Secretary. This was seconded by Dr. B. S. Baliga and carried unanimously. The meeting was then dissolved.

17. The following Papers and publications were laid on the table.

(*i*) An extract from the correspondence relating to the transfer of a huge mass of historical records to the Imperial Record Department by the Government of the North-West Frontier Province. These documents are likely to throw a flood of light on the Afghan and Tribal affairs.

(*ii*) An extract from a note forwarded by Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe with his letter, dated the 23rd October 1940 regarding Athalye collection of unpublished records (Appendix J).

(*iii*) A note from Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., Berar, on a MS Library at Balapur in Akola District (Appendix I).

(*iv*) An extract from a letter from Mr. Amarnath Ray, Assam, dated the 8th April 1940, tendering his resignation from the personnel of the corresponding members owing to ill health.

(*v*) A list of commemorative tablets on notable buildings in the Baroda State (Appendix G).

(*vi*) Copy of " A letter from Calcutta, 1770 " by late Ven. W. K. Firminger (Appendix H).

(*vii*) Annual Reports of—

(*a*) Imperial Record Department, 1939.
(*b*) Madras Record Office, 1939.
(*c*) Bengal Records Office, 1939.

(*viii*) Imperial Record Department publications—

(*a*) A Manual of Rules regulating access to Archives in India and Europe.
(*b*) Imperial Record Department (Historical Research) Rules.
(*c*) Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. VII.
(*d*) Index to the Land Revenue Records, 1830-37.
(*e*) List of the Heads of Administrations in India and in India Office in England, corrected up to the 1st October 1938.

(*ix*) Books and periodicals presented to the Commission during 1940—

1. Early History of Kamarupa, by Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua, C.I.E.
2. Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India, by Mr. S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (Lond.).
3. The Mughal Empire, by Mr. S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (Lond.).
4. Education in Muslim India, by Mr. S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (Lond.).
5. Mediæval India under Muslim Kings II, Ghaznawids, by Mr. S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (Lond.).
6. Studies in the Early Political System of the East India Company in Bengal (1765—74), Volumes I and II, by Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A.
7. Studies in Early Governmental System of the Company in Bengal (1765—74) III, by Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A.
8. Raja Rammohan Roy and the last Moghals, a selection from Official Records (1803-1859), by Dr. J. K. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Bar-at-Law.
9. History of Golcunda (in Persian), by Mr. Abdul Majeed Siddiqi, M.A., LL.B.

10. Poona Residency correspondence (Extra Volume). Selections from Sir C. W. Malet's letter book 1780-1784. Edited by Dr. Raghubir Sinh, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.
11. The Indian Press, by Margarita Barns.
12. The Santal Insurrection of 1855-57, by Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.
13. A Historical Review of Hindu India (300 B.C. to 1200 A.D.) by Mr. Panchanana Raya, B.A.
14. Alivardi and His Times by Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.
15. Vir Vinod (History of Udaipur Ranas), by Late Mahamahopadhyaya Kaviraj Shamaldas.

(*x*) Reports of the research work received from the following corresponding members :—

1. Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., C.I.E.
2. Dr. K. R. Subramanian, M.A., Ph.D.
3. Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.
4. Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.
5. Sri Vidyasagara Vidyavachaspati P. P. Subrahmanya Sastriar, B.A. (Oxon.).
6. Sir Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev Rajabahadur, M.R.A.S.
7. Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), D.Phil. (Giessen).
8. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.).
9. Dr. J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
10. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A.
11. Mr. L. P. Dutta, M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A. (Lond.).
12. Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D.
13. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., M.L.C.
14. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.
15. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A.
16. Sardar Ganda Singh, M.A.
17. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L.
18. Dr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Ph.D.
19. Mr. S. A. Shere, M.A. (Lond.), LL.B.
20. Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.
21. Rai Bahadur Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.).
22. Mr. S. C. Goswami, I.S.O.
23. Mr. S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (Lond.).
24. Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.).
25. Dr. Bool Chand, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).
26. Rajacharitravisharada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L.
27. Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Sahityacharya.
28. Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.E.S., F.S.S., F.R. Hist.S.
29. Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A.
30. Srimati Kamalabai Kibe.
31. Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S.
32. Mr. R. Vasudeva Poduval, B.A.
33. Cavaliero Panduranga Pissurlencar.
34. Mons Alfred Lehuraux.
35. Mr. G. H. Luce, M.A. (Cantab.), I.E.S.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, etc., on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at the Sixteenth Meeting and on some passed at previous sessions.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by the Provincial Governments, etc.	Remarks.
Resolution I.—This Commission deeply mourns the death of Sir Evan Cotton, M. Balasubramaniam Pillai, Mr. T. R. Sesha Iyengar and Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth and authorises the Secretary to convey to their relatives messages of sympathy and condolence on behalf of the Commission.	The resolution of condolence was forwarded to the bereaved families.		
Resolution II.—The Commission recommends (*a*) that in the first instance indexes of the pre-mutiny records detailed in scheme III be prepared on the lines suggested by the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India ,and (*b*) that outside help be secured to expedite the work with regard to such records as may be thrown open to *bona fide* students of history.	The Government of India prefer the adoption of scheme II and have asked for an estimate of the staff for working it in a measurable period of time.		The scheme II includes (*a*) all the records of the late Foreign & Political Department, (*b*) the records of the Home Department and (*c*) the records relating to Land Revenue, Estate papers and Quarter Master General. An index to the land Revenue Records 1830-37 has been prepared and printed and a copy has been submitted to the Government of India. The particulars required by them have also been supplied.
Resolution III.—The Commission recommends that all ' C ' class papers should be preserved in the Imperial Record Department in New Delhi.	The Government of India accepted the recommendation.		It has been decided to undertake the repair of the ' C ' class documents after the ' A ' and ' B ' class papers have been attended to.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by the Provincial Governments, etc.	Remarks.
Resolution IV.—The Commission recommends that papers to be read at its public meeting be printed in advance.	The Government of India accepted the recommendation.		
Resolution V.—It was further resolved that a Selection Committee with Sir Jadunath Sarkar and the Secretary as members be appointed for the scrutiny of the papers received.	The recommendation was not acceptable to the Government of India.		In the opinion of the Government of India the scrutiny of papers submitted for reading at the public meetings of the Commission is a function of the Local Records Sub-Committee, and that it is not desirable to include in its personnel any member who is not ordinarily a resident of New Delhi.
Resolution VI.—The Commission is of opinion that it is desirab to enlighten le the Indian States about the procedure to be adopted in inviting the Commission and requests the Government of India to move His Excellency the Crown Representative to issue a circular letter on the subject in suitable official language to the States.	In the opinion of the Government of India there is hardly any necessity to issue a circular letter to the Indian States on this subject.		The present convention is that whenever it is considered desirable to arrange a meeting of the Commission in an Indian State, the Secretary of the Commission submits his proposals to the Government of India in the Department of Education, Health and Lands. That Department then ascertains through the Political Department whether the State concerned is willing to invite the Commission and communicates the results of the negotiation to the Secretary of the Commission.

Action taken on some of the Resolutions of the 13th, 14th and the 15th sessions.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by the Provincial Governments, etc.	Remarks.
Resolution 5 of the 15th Session (Poona).—This Commission recommends to the Government of the United Provivinces the desirability of establishing a record office at an early date and that rules should be framed for the access of scholars to it.	A reminder was issued to the Government of the United Provinces (*vide* I. H. R. C. Proceedings Volume XVI, part III, page 2, item II).	The Government of the United Provinces have replied that on account of the present need of economy due to the war, it has not been possible to take up the question of establishing a Central Record Office.	
Resolution 8 of the 14th Session (Lahore).—The Government of India be requested to give the public unrestricted access to the records upto the year 1800.	The Government of India and H. E. the Crown Representative have been pleased to throw open their records up to 1880 to the *bona fide* research scholars subject to such rules as the Government of India may frame.	....	
Resolution 14 of the 13th Session (Patna).—That the Commission recommends to the various Governments the desirability of placing memorial tablets on historic sites (such as the field of Panipat), and preserving similar monuments where they already exist.	....	It was decided to place a memorial pillar at the battlefield of Tukaroi which is in the Dantoon Thana in Midnapore, a district in Bengal (*vide* I. H. R. C. Procs., Vol. XIV, p. 181). The Collector of Midnapore informs that the proposal for constructing a memorial pillar at Tukaroi has been closed by the Home (Political) Department of the Government of Bengal.	

APPENDIX A.

Inspection Note of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India on the Maintenance of the Records on the Alienation Office, Poona.

The Government of Bombay in their letter No. 6558-E., dated the 15th May 1940, enquired of the Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, whether the Government of India could conveniently lend to the Bombay Government the services of the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India for a few days to advise the Bombay Government on the present system of the maintenance of the records in the Alienation Office, Poona and to suggest improvements if necessary. Later the Bombay Government wrote to the Government of India that the Keeper might be requested to visit the Alienation Office in the third or fourth week of September 1940. Accordingly, I left Delhi on Monday the 23rd September and visited the Alienation Office on the 25th and the 26th September. On the 27th I verbally communicated the results of my enquiry to Mr. D. Maclachlan, Commissioner, Central Division, under whose control the Alienation Office is and discussed the relevant problems of supervision and preservation with Sir Gilbert Wiles, the Senior Adviser to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay.

On the first day of my visit to the Alienation Office Mr. D. R. Gadgil, M.A., M.Litt. (Cantab.), Director, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Professor D. V. Potdar, Secretary, Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, and Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, Director, Deccan College, were present by invitation. Mr. Gadgil and Professor Potdar, I am told, had already considered some of the questions, referred to me, at the instance of the Government of Bombay and had already submitted for their consideration certain specific recommendations. As in their letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, mentioned above, the Bombay Government had referred to the present arrangements made for the students of history at the Alienation Office and the necessity of paying progressively greater attention to the needs and requirements of research students, I discussed that question with Dr. Taraporewala, to whose institution, I understand, the majority of such research students belong and Professor D. V. Potdar who had for a long time past interested himself in the second problem. On the second day I happened to meet in the Alienation Office Professor C. B. Joshi of the Wadia College who had gone through a part of the *Jamav Daftar* and had, therefore, personal knowledge of the state of preservation in which they generally are. Mr. Kazi, Assistant Commissioner, Central Division, also helped me in every way and so did Mr. S. B. Darp, Acting Head Clerk.

I need not go into the past history of the Archives about the preservation of which I have been called upon to advise. How they were acquired, what they relate to, when they were transferred to the present premises have been related in detail in the excellent note of Mr. A. C. Logan in 1905. From Dr. Taraporewala and Professor D. V. Potdar I learnt that the facilities granted to the research students are quite satisfactory. The number of such students is at present extremely limited and the visitors, except for a few university students who come to examine the records with a view to writing dissertations for certain degrees, are interested in their family history alone. The room allotted for the use of research students is quite spacious, and, as more than *25,000 rumals* are now available for their use, I do not think the research students can have any reasonable grievance. I may, therefore, pass on to the present system of preservation or lack of it.

At present the records, styled as *Peshwas' Daftar*, are housed in a stone building with eight large and four small rooms. Of these, one is occupied by the staff, another has been allotted to the printing press and a third has been set apart for the use of the research students. The remaining nine are used as muniment rooms. In 1905 Mr. Logan found the building quite suitable for storing records, but it is difficult to concur with him to-day. Two of the first floor rooms are positively damp and the records kept there have already been affected by mildew spores. They are not free from draught when it rains. I have been told that the roof leaks at places and I observed that the back rooms were not quite safe even when there was a light shower. The arrangements for ventilation are also faulty and unsuitable. The glass panes in the upper part of the windows are permanently fixed and although they admit sufficient light they block ventilation altogether. The lower portion, however, can be let down for ventilating the rooms but when it is opened there is no means of shutting out rain water. In any case under the present system the upper shelves are not aired at all. The best arrangement, of course, would be to use the windows for light alone and provide the rooms with exhaust fans for ventilation.

A large tank of water has been provided on the central tower against accidental outbreak of fire. But if a small fire is detected in time the hose is likely to flood the entire room and more damage is likely to be caused by water than fire. This risk can be avoided if the muniment rooms are provided with a few small fire extinguishers of the modern type.

The oldest papers in the Poona Daftar date from 1702. Some of the records are, therefore, nearly 250 years old. When an exhaustive examination is made of all the bundles or *rumals* still older records may come to light. The paper, however, is quite strong, the ink is good and there is no reason why these records under proper care and scientific treatment should not last for centuries to come. Unfortunately however, nothing so far has been done for their preservation except storing them in bundles of various sizes and weight on wooden racks in the Alienation Office building.

In 1905 Mr. Logan found the building free from white ants. At the time of my inspection I did not find any trace of them in the building itself but some of the records, particularly of the *jamav* section, bore ugly evidence of their ravages. The rag-stock paper which was used in the Peshwa period is so strong that after the necessary repairs it will not be difficult to preserve the remaining portion of the records, so damaged, in fairly good condition. If the rooms are free from white ants they are not devoid of other insect pests. Apart from the damaged records in which I found unmistakable traces of the presence of silver fish and certain boring insects, I actually found live specimens of the former and some larvae of the latter. Damp as some of the rooms are, it is no wonder that the insects have found their way to loose bundles on the shelves. I should not be surprised if rats and other vermins are found to frequent these rooms at night. Most of the insect pests are night feeders and as the brief time at my disposal did not permit a thorough examination of more than a few bundles the extent of the damage done by the various insect pests must remain a subject of conjecture for the present. It may, however, be stated that the records on the upper shelves where ventilation is most defective have suffered most.

Although the papers have been roughly classified under different sections according to the departments of their origin and chronologically arranged, nothing so far has been done for indexing them. Mr. Logan mentions *firists* and *wahis* which

enabled an intelligent and experienced man, appropriately styled as a "walking index", to trace a specified paper within a reasonably short time. These lists, I understand, still exist, but apart from the general nature of the records they convey no information about their subject matter. The research students have, therefore, to rummage through whole bundles and every sheet in the *rumals* requisitioned by them suffers a certain amount of rough handling. The records are subjected to further unkind treatment when they are sent to the printing press at the requisition of the litigant public. I am told that the office has, in its possession, printed duplicates of nearly sixty thousand documents or more. But they cannot be easily traced for the lack of a proper hand list.

The records in the Peshwas' Daftar vary in size and sometimes a single sheet of paper runs to 10 yards or more in length. These papers have been folded several times to reduce their size to a convenient dimension in the most primitive manner conceivable. Even with this treatment uniformity of size has not been attained. The folded papers have been tied with hard twine and then an indefinite number of them has been made into a bundle. The bundles have been stacked one on the top of another in an indiscriminate way. It is common knowledge that folded papers are liable to break along the folds, and hard twine cuts into papers. Old brittle papers are bound to deteriorate further when they are made to bear a certain amount of pressure and weight. It is no wonder that some old records have already gone into pieces and others show unmistakable signs of their impending doom. Even the best preserved records in the Alienation Office are not likely to remain intact for more than a decade unless necessary measures for preservation are taken in the meantime. The English records, some of which have been bound into volumes, badly stand in need of repair because no care has been taken for dusting and mending them. Some of the Persian papers have been flattened by Professor Ganda Singh and arranged according to their subject matter. But the flattening has not been properly done and there are creases still to be smoothed and repairs to be made. It is, therefore, essentially necessary that a comprehensive scheme should be formulated for the preservation of the old records in the *Peshwas' Daftar*, otherwise they are bound to deteriorate and decay. But the prospect need not be so gloomy as it may appear at the first sight if immediate steps are taken to improve the existing conditions in the Alienation Office.

The *rumals* in the Alienation Office number approximately 35,000. They are of varying size and it is not possible to calculate the exact number of the record they contain. They are not numbered and as Professor Ganda Singh disturbed the previous arrangements of the Persian *rumals*, the number of the records in the bundles re-made by him will not offer accurate data for our calculation. Professor D. V. Potdar says that each *rumal* of Marathi records contains at least 1,000 sheets of papers and at this rate the Alienation Office will have to provide for the maintenance of 35,000,000 sheets of old papers in varying state of preservation or decay. Obviously, it will not be possible to attend to 35,000,000 papers all at once and even if the Government of Bombay can provide the necessary funds and labour it will not be possible to find sufficient accommodation for the repairing staff in the present building. The programme of repair, will, therefore, have to be spread over a period ranging from five to ten years.

It will be seen from Appendix A that at present the Alienation Office has no staff for repairing and dusting the records in its custody. The folded records, however,

should be immediately flattened and the urgent repair should at once attended to As sufficient data for accurate calculation are not available at present I should suggest that work may be started without any further delay with a staff of 20 menders and 4 dusting bearers. As there is no possibility of fresh acquisition of records in the Alienation Office the Bombay Government will be in a position to calculate the exact amount of money and labour needed for the preservation of the *Peshwas' Daftar* on the basis of twelve months' out-turn.

A skilled mender should be able to flatten at least 1000 sheets every working month and with greater experience the out-turn will automatically increase. I am of opinion that roughly 10% of the papers will need major repairs and the work will have to be done under expert guidance which is not at present available at Poona. There are two alternatives. The Bombay Government may get some intelligent menders of their own trained in the Imperial Record Department at New Delhi or ask for the loan of the services of one of the senior menders of the Imperial Record Department for a year or so. In my opinion the second alternative will meet the needs of the Alienation Office best as otherwise the urgent work of flattening and mending will have to be postponed till the return of the menders deputed for training *i.e.*, for six months at least. A clerk, however, may be deputed to Delhi for six months' training in different branches of records-keeping.

The best material for repairing brittle records is cellulose acetate foil. It is strong and transparent and comparatively impervious to insects. It can, moreover, be applied without any adhesive but the necessary machinery is not available in India. Next to cellulose acetate foil, chiffon or very thin silk gauze has been found to be a good repairing-material. It ensures transparency and adds to the life of the repaired document twenty-five years at least. When fresh repair is needed chiffon can be completely removed with the greatest possible ease. Japanese tissue paper has also been tried in the Imperial Record Department but the result has not been very encouraging. It is liable to become opaque within a few years and cannot be so easily removed as chiffon. But unfortunately neither chiffon, nor Japanese tissue paper of the best quality is available in the market at present. We have, therefore, to use Japanese tissue paper of an inferior quality for repair work as a matter of necessity. It is, therefore, advisable to execute the most urgent and unavoidable repairs with the available repairing materials and postpone all avoidable repairs for better times. The purchase of a laminating machine for repair with cellulose acetate foil will ultimately effect considerable economy in labour and time, for lamination takes only a few seconds to complete, once the optimum pressure and temperature is ascertained, while repair with chiffon takes nearly 15 to 20 minutes per paper. The machine will cost about Rs. 30,000 and the necessary literature may be obtained from Messrs. R. Wood & Co., Philadelphia Pa. U. S. A. (Appendix B).

It is not advisable to use ordinary adhesives for repairing old records. The Imperial Record Department has tried dextrine pastes with a small quantity of white arsenic and found it very satisfactory. The formula of the paste is given in Appendix C. It can be locally prepared or obtained from Messrs. Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works of Calcutta. The leather of the bound volumes should also be treated with a preservative the ingredients of which are mentioned in Appendix D.

The records when flattened, repaired and paginated should be placed under a docket cover, a sample of which is enclosed herewith. Such docket covers may be

locally obtained at a small expense. But as the records in the Alienation Office are not of a uniform size we have to face the problem of preserving documents of exceptional size after flattening. Two alternative treatments are possible. When the writing is on one side only the document in question may be mounted on thin muslin and rolled like a map or chart. This process is likely to prove more expensive and the document under such a treatment is likely to require more shelf space than at present. It will be in my opinion more convenient to cut such documents, when flattened, into several pages of uniform size, if possible at the folds where the paper has already begun to wear out. Care will have to be taken not to cut very close to the writing. These pages may after guarding be formed into gathers and stitched with a shell cover as in other cases. When the flattened papers are provided with shell covers they will withstand better the adverse effects of careless handling. Numbering may be done by an experienced clerk simultaneously with flattening and repairing.

The present system of keeping records in a tight bundle does not permit of efficient dusting apart from other defects detailed above. Professor Potdar has suggested that the records should in future be placed in tin boxes of convenient size with holes for ventilation, but tin boxes are liable to rust and fibre boxes may prove better receptacles for old and brittle papers. But fibre boxes are more expensive and will require more shelf space. I, therefore, suggest that the record should be serially arranged and packed between two 5-plywood vanista boards and tied with logline at both ends. The bundle should not be more than 10″ deep and the boards should be of sufficient breadth and length to prevent the logline from coming in contact with the papers within. Plywood boards are sufficiently light and strong and they are not likely to warp. 5-plywood boards of 8″×5″ size are available at New Delhi at Rs. 15 per hundred.

Before the bundles are deposited on the racks papers affected with damp and mildew will have to be chemically treated to prevent further infection and deterioration. Fumigation with Thymol crystals and Paradichlorobenzene has been found quite satisfactory. Both the processes are simple and inexpensive and can be effected with an ordinary closed cabinet which can be manufactured at an approximate cost of Rs. 50 each. (Appendix E).

Human ingenuity is unable to restore the writing already destroyed by insects and other pests but preventive measures can and should be taken against further injury. The best way to destroy vermins of all sorts as well as their eggs and larvae is by vacuum fumigation the details of which will be available in Appendix E. As it may not be possible to provide the Alienation Office immediately with a vacuum chamber the saucers holding the racks should be filled with kerosine and creosote and the wooden racks should be periodically treated with raw creosote. Care should be taken not to replace the records on the racks so treated until they are completely dry. Every muniment room should be generously provided with Napthalene bricks, and when possible the wooden racks should be replaced by steel shelves.

Hand-cleaning of records is neither efficient nor convenient and often does more harm than good to old and brittle papers. The Alienation Office should be provided with portable vacuum cleaners so that records may be regularly dusted without disturbing or handling the bundles. For the safety of the records subjected to the suction of the vaccum cleaners it is suggested that papers in the same bundle should be as far as possible of the same size and the top parts of one or two papers should not be

allowed to stick out above the general height-level of the rest. As electric power is needed for working vacuum cleaners the Alienation Office should be provided with electric installation.

Even when sufficient precaution has been taken against the deleterious effects of dust old papers are liable to suffer from the adverse effect of atmospheric acid, varying temperature and humidity. Poona is an industrial town and the atmosphere may not be quite congenial to the health of the old records. At present there are no availabe data about the variation of temperature and humidity in the muniment rooms of the Alienation Office. Experiments by the American Bureau of Standards have satisfactorily established that a uniform temperature of about 80° and a uniform comparative humidity of 45% to 55% are most suitable for the preservation of papers. These ideal conditions may be secured by a suitable air conditioning plant with arrangements for filtering the incoming air current. (Appendix F).

Apart from measures of preservation recommended above the Alienation Office will have to devise ways and means to safeguard the papers from unnecessary handling and dishonest treatment. The Alienation Commissioners had their special method of enumeration and stamping to prevent substitution of papers but that will not be of any use to-day. Nor does their device offer any security against papers from a particular bundle being purloined. Professor Potdar has suggested in his note a system of enumeration which may be conveniently tried. It will not be practical at this stage to sort and classify the huge mass of records now in the custody of the Alienation Office. But the records of each series as they are now arranged may be serially numbered so that the removal of the smallest slip of paper may be easily detected. At present it is not even known how many papers a particular bundle contains. The cumbrous and uneconomic system of supplying printed copies of specified records to the litigants may very conveniently be abandoned and more reliable and less expensive microfilm copies may be supplied to those who may need them. As the Alienation Office always keeps a duplicate of such copies arrangements may be made for keeping the printed and filmed copies separately and, wherever possible, these copies may be supplied to research students instead of the brittle originals. I understand that most of the Persian records have been microfilmed at the local photo-registry office for the use of Dr. Raghubir Sinh. Duplicate prints of these records may be obtained for the Alienation Office without any expense and henceforth the originals of these films may be withheld from the Research Scholars unless they want to examine the paper, ink, and script of any particular document with a view to ascertaining its genuineness.

An exhaustive index, when compiled, will remove the need of issuing a whole bundle of papers for an indefinite period of time. If the student knows what particular paper he wants and if it can be easily located he need not waste his time in rummaging through an indefinite mass of records. But the compilation of such an index will be a stupendous task and the proposal has been considered and rejected in the past as unnecessary from the administrative point of view. A beginning in this direction, however, can be made with the co-operation of the local professors and research scholars. They may be asked to prepare brief notes on the subject matter of the records they examine in the course of their research work and an index to individual bundles may thus be prepared without any additional cost and labour. A consolidated index may be attempted when such notes are available for a large number of bundles in a particulars section. I made this suggestion to Professors Gadgil,

Potdar and Taraporewala. They welcomed the idea but opined that the average research student could not be entrusted with a technical work of this character without expert supervision and guidance and their numbers at present is so limited that no appreciable result is likely to be achieved in the near future. The experiment, however, is well worth making.

I came to learn that some local professors have been permitted to remove certain old papers from the Alienation Office building to their residences. It is needless to add that this is highly undesirable and extremely risky. If any scholar offers his services to the Alienation Office he should be prepared to work in the research students room during the normal working hours and he should remember that in the interest of historical research and advancement of learning he should refrain from claiming any privilege that may in any way jeopardize the safety of these valuable records which should not only be made available to the scholars of to-day but should be carefully preserved for the future generations as well.

If the printing press is abolished accommodation may be found in the press room for the repairing staff and the hand press may be used for flattening folded records.

In conclusion, I may briefly summarise my findings and recommendations for ready reference.

(1) Some of the records are in a shocking condition. They have suffered from the inevitable process of time and avoidable lack of care.

(2) Suitable measures of preservation and repair should be immediately adopted.

(3) The folded papers should be flattened, numbered, paginated and made into bundles.

(4) 5 Ply-wood vanista boards of suitable size should be used for making bundles.

(5) A staff of 20 menders and 4 dusting bearers should be employed forthwith for the work specified in No. 3 above.

(6) For supervising their work the services of a senior mender of the Imperial Record Department should be requisitioned for one year at the outset.

(7) At present the most urgent repair work should be done with the repairing materials available in the market, more elaborate repairs being postponed for better times. Flattening should be expedited as far as possible and dextrine pastes should be used.

(8) Papers affected with damp should be fumigated with Thymol.

(9) The racks should be treated with raw creosote and the record-rooms should be copiously provided with Napthalene bricks.

(10) Muniment rooms should be provided with portable fire extinguishers and vacuum cleaners.

(11) A member of the supervising staff should be deputed to New Delhi for necessary training.

(12) The additional staff recommended above will cost the Bombay Government Rs. 7,560-0-0 per annum and the cost of the repairing materials will be approximately as detailed in Appendix G.

(13) Printing may be substituted by microfilming and an attempt may be made to get all the records microfilmed within a specified period.

(14) The other suggestions made in the body of the report respecting laminating machines, vacuum fumigation, air-conditioning and indexing may be given effect when and as suitable opportunities occur. When the flattening programme is completed and a laminating machine has been acquired it will be possible to effect considerable reduction in the mending staff. The four dusting bearers will still have to be retained but as the arrears in mending work are gradually reduced by quicker and cheaper mechanical processes the services of a large number of menders may be dispensed with unless they are needed somewhere else in the province. But this is hardly the time to think of future economies. The invaluable records in the Alienation Office have long been treated with indifference, they should now receive the attention and care that they deserve and need.

IMPERIAL RECORD DEPARTMENT,
NEW DELHI,
The 4th October 1940.

S. N. SEN,
Keeper of the Records of the Government of India.

APPENDIX A.

Alienation Office.

1. Mr. S. B. Darp, B.A., Ag. Head Clerk.	150—5—200 (155)	Disposal of cases (important and confidential). General supervision and scrutiny of cases put up by clerks.
2. Mr. H. R. Guruji, Record Keeper	105—5—140 (135)	Disposal of cases given by the Head Clerk. Disposal of applications for copies. Attending to Historical students and scrutiny of their notes.
3. Mr. G. T. Purandhare, Clerk ..	85—5/2—100 (100)	Disposal of cases given by the Head Clerk. Proof correcting.
4. Mr. N. R. Wagholikar, Clerk ..	30—5/2—80 (80)	Disposal of Gujarathi applications. Scrutiny of cash alteration statements and Land alteration statements. Despatch.
5. Mr. M. P. Pansare, B.A., Clerk..	25—5/2—75 (50)	Disposal of cases given by the Head Clerk. Maintenance of accounts and replacing records taken out for references. Typing.
1. Mr. V. G. Dighe, M.A., Historical Archivist.	105—5—150 (115)	Publication of Selections from the Residency Records. Exploration of the Daftar.

Alienation Office Press.

1. Mr. V. V. Patankar, Head Compositor.	30—5/2—80 (75)	Printing of copies applied for by the application and other Government work.
2. Mr. D. V. Desai, 2nd Compositor	30—5/2—80 (75)	
3. Mr. R. S. Rane, 3rd Compositor	25—5/2—75 (30)	
4. Shankar Govind Chavan, Pressman.	22—1/2—25 (25)	Striking copies and proofs of the material composed by the compositors.

	Rs.	
1. Shankar Tukaram	20	Naik.
2. Shankar Tukaram Bankar ..	19	Peon.
3. Shankar Sadoba Dangat ..	19	Peon.
4. Babu Rajmohamad ..	19	Watchmen.
5. Sadashiv Mahadu	18	
6. Bhiku Umaji	18	
7. Govind Appaji	17	

APPENDIX B.

Lamination.—The re-inforcing of brittle record with Japanese tissue paper or chiffon is not an ideal method in that the use of these repairing materials increases the resistance to handling but does not protect it from general deterioration. The adhesive used may render the documents more susceptible to attack from insects or fungi. The legibility and flexibility of documents may also be adversely affected by treatment with them. The National Archives of the U. S. A. investigated the various methods of repairing documents and finally adopted the use of cellulose acetate foil for lamination of records by the application of heat and pressure in a hydraulic press. This is undoubtedly the best method of repairing in view of the fact that no adhesive is required and that the coating being impervious does not permit any atmospheric acid to act on the paper.

A hydraulic press of the type required for this purpose can be obtained from the R. D. Wood Company, Philadelphia, P.A. at a cost of £7,555 or Rs. 26,000 including freight charges. The operating cost of this machine and the recurring expenditure on cellulose products is said to be negligible. Compared to Japanese tissue paper or chiffon, cellulose acetate foil, is the cheapest. Cellulose acetate foil measuring 30″ × 40″ costs Rs. 35 per ream, *viz.*, annas 12 per 100 square feet. Chiffon (lisse quality 383/368) 40″ wide costs about 2*s.* 1*d.* a yard, *i.e.*, about Rs. 14 per 100 square feet. The price of Japanese tissue (Thosa B or Mino AA) is about $4·50 per ream. While Japanese tissue paper costs 5 to 6 times higher than cellulose acetate foil, Chiffon costs 5 times higher than Japanese tissue. With the introduction of the hydraulic press and cellulose acetate foil, the general out-turn of laminated sheets will greatly increase, resulting in actual saving in the near future, so that the heavy initial expenditure of Rs. 26,000 is perfectly justified.

APPENDIX C.

The use of an adhesive for repairing work is indispensable. In making a choice we must see that the adhesive does not form a delicious food for insects or a nice medium for the growth of fungi or bacteria. Any adhesive must therefore contain preservatives for the pure starchy material as also insecticides and fungicides for keeping away insects and fungi. Dextrine paste, supplied by the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works may be used for this purpose. Its formula is given below for information.

Dextrine	5 lbs.
Water	20 lbs.
Oil cloves	1½ oz.
Saffrol	1½ oz.
White Arsenic	2½ oz.

The paste is poisonous to human beings but there is no danger in handling it.

APPENDIX D.

Leather Preservative.—Tanned leather of good quality is ordinarily a very stable substance but in adverse circumstances it is liable to attack from insects and fungi. The leather may also undergo general deterioration and drying up thus losing its flexibility. The durability and keeping quality of leather can be greatly enhanced by the application of a leather preservative containing waxy substances and insecticides. A formula of dressing for leather book-bindings, which has been developed at the British Museum, London, is given here.

Lanoline, anhydrous	7 oz. (avoir).
Beeswax	½ oz. (aovir).
Cederwood oil	1 oz. (fluid).
Haxane	11 oz. (fluid).

The binding should be cleaned with a wet sponge, allowed to dry for two or three days and then the dressing is to be well rubbed in. Next day it should be polished. After some experience it will be seen whether any modifications in this formula are desirable in order to suit the climatic conditions at Poona.

APPENDIX E.

Thymol Fumigation is being practised in the Imperial Record Department as an immediate preventive measure againat mildew whose incidence during moist and warm weather increases rapidly. Thymol vapour certainly checks mildew growth but its effect is not very lasting. In this system of thymol fumigation records are spread over perforated shelves enclosed in a wooden chamber and thymol crystals, placed in a watch glass, are made to vaporise from below by applying heat with a view to saturate the closed space with thymol vapour. Records infested with mildew are first cleaned and then fumigated for 24 to 72 hours. The cost of each chamber is about Rs. 50 and that of thymol Rs. 7 per lb. Comsumption of thymol per chamber per month is not likely to exceed one pound.

Paradichlorobenzene Fumigation.—Records may also be fumigated with paradichlorobenzene which is a white powder subliming at the ordinary temperature. The fumigation must be done in a closed chamber or a steel box in which records are placed in alternate layers with p-dichlorobenzene dusted on a stretched linen. The cost of each lb. of p-dichlorobenzene is Rs. 1-2-0 only.

Vacuum Fumigation.—The best method of preventing damage to records by insects and fungi is to fumigate them in a vacuum vault. In vacuum fumigation commodities are placed in a gas tight steel chamber and a large proportion of the air is removed and replaced with a gas lethal to insects. It is the most effective remedy hitherto known because the fumigant penetrates into pores and interstices and kills the insects as well as their larvae within a short time. Lack of oxygen renders insects more susceptible to a lethal gass. The bundles which presumably contain brittle records need not be opened, as they have to be, during ordinary fumigations. The fumigants are sometimes quite poisonous, but the use of a vacuum fumigation vault makes the detection of any leakage rather easy, so that operators are quite safe.

Hydrocyanic acid, Ethylene chloride, carbontetrachloride, carbonbisulphide, Ethylene oxidecarbonodixide, Methyl formate-carbondioxide—all these fumignants are 100% effective for killing all storage insects within 24 hours and they have no deleterious effect on paper. A fumigation chamber ($4\frac{1}{2}' \times 5' \times 11'$) suitable for the vacuum fumigation of records can be obtained from the Guardite Corporation, Chicago, Illinois, at a cost of $3,600, *i.e.*, Rs. 13,000 including freight charges. The operation of the chamber is easy and inexpensive though this must be done under expert supervision.

APPENDIX F.

Air Conditioning.—Atmospheric changes are mainly responsible for the process of aging or general deterioration of records. Chemical changes to exposure to strong light, continuous hydration and dehydration of paper owing to fluctuation in the amount of moisture present in the atmosphere, unequal contraction and expansion of fibres, leather, linen, thread, etc. owing to variations in temperature bring about what is known as decay of records. If we could arrest these changes and keep the records in perfectly even and unchanged atmospheric conditions suitable to them we should be able to prevent almost completely any aging. Air conditioning is a near approach to that ideal.

There are different types of air-conditioning systems and we shall have to select one with contrivances to suit our special requirements. The problem before us is to control not only temperature and humidity but also circulation and distribution of air inside rooms to be conditioned. The main objects of an air-conditioning system in a Record Office are to produce and maintain (*i*) proper temperature, (*ii*) correct degree of humidity, (*iii*) purity of air by eliminating dust particles and acid fumes from the in-coming air, (*iv*) proper amount of air motion and (*v*) adequate ventilation. These indoor conditions must be accomplished simultaneously and automatically regardless of change in outside conditions. The first approach to a proper design is an accurate estimate of heat load to be encountered and overcome. This will need a careful study of the construction and location of the space to be conditioned, the outside temperatures and humidities, transfer of heat through the building constructions, its esposure to the sun and the like. It will thus be seen that besides collecting data for control of humidity and temperature it is essential to study such technical aspects of the question as heat transfer, refrigeration, load calculations etc.

It has been found from experience gained in the National Archives, U. S. A. and other American libraries that the optimum temperature should be between 70°F and 80° F while the relative humidity should be 50%. From readings taken in our Department of relative humidity and temperature in the stack rooms and from the alarming divergence from that of the optimum, we are now able to realise the seriousness of the problem and we are certain that unless air-conditioning is taken recourse to, records cannot be properly preserved and decay of brittle records cannot be prevented for any great length of time. Modern research has conclusively proved that air-conditioning of archives and libraries is not merely a luxury but a dire necessity.

APPENDIX G.

1. Statement showing cost of additional establishment.

6 senior menders on	Rs. 20—1—40	
14 junior menders on	Rs. 15—1—35	
4 dusting bearers on	Rs. 13—1/5—17	
Cost for the first year		Rs. 4,584-0-0
Cost of deputation of a senior mender from the Imperial Record Department.		
(*i*) pay at Rs. 60 p.m.	Rs. 720-0-0	
(*ii*) t. a. on transfer	Rs. 140-0-0	
		Rs. 860-0-0
For rounding		Rs. 36-0-0
Actual total cost for the first year		Rs. 5,480-0-0
Cost of the additional establishment calculated on the basis of average pay		Rs. 7,560-0-0

2. Statement showing the expected annual consumptions and cost of repairing and preservative materials for work to be done by ten menders.

Serial No.	Name of materials.	Yearly consumption.	Rate.	Total.	Remarks.
			Rs.	Rs.	
1. *Repairing*	Handmade paper	10 reams ..	85	850	
	Japanese Tissue paper ..	10 reams ..	11	110	
	Chiffon	320 yds. of 44" width.	2	640	
	Dextrine Paste	600 lbs. ..	As. 2/6/-	94	
2. *Preservative.*	Leather Preservative mixture ..	84 lbs. ..	Rs. 1/14/-	158	
	Thymol	10 lbs. (for one chamber).	7	70	
	Naphthaline Brick	1 brick of 1 lb. for every ten running ft. of shelf space.	23 per cwt. ..		112 bricks make one cwt.
	Creosote oil	..	Re. 1/8/- per gallon.		

3. Description of implements required.

Knife	Rs. 1-8-0 per dozen.
Scissors	Rs. 4-11-0 per dozen.
Needles	Rs. 5-4-0 per 1000.
Slice	
Cups	
Plates	
Malmul	
Trays	
Brush	
Hand Press.	

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APPENDIX B (I).

Report of the second meeting of the Standing Local Records Sub-Committee held on the 18th March 1940.

PRESENT.

MR. JOHN SARGENT, M.A. — *Chairman.*

Capt. D. G. HARINGTON HAWES — *Member.*

DR. T. G. P. SPEAR, M.A., Ph.D. — *Member.*

Dr. S. N. SEN, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.) *Secretary.*

REPORT.

1. Transcription of faded and brittle manuscript Index volumes.

Resolution I.—Resolved that in the opinion of the Sub-Committee it is desirable to have typed copies of all fading documents and the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India should make a survey of the old documents with a view to forming a precise estimate of the amount of work likely to be involved.

2. Consideration of the draft rules (as revised) regulating inspection of historical records in the custody of the Imperial Record Department.

Resolution II.—Resolved that the Rules as revised by the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India be approved with necessary modifications suggested by the Sub-Committee.

3. Disposal of certain worm-eaten and mutilated documents.

Resolution III.—Resolved that the documents be destroyed.

4. Substitution of the designation Senior and Junior menders for the Sorters and Daftaris employed on repairing documents.

Resolution IV.—Resolved that the change of the designation suggested be approved.

Signature—

JOHN SARGENT, *Chairman.*

D. G. HARRINGTON HAWES, *Member.*

T. G. P. SPEAR, *Member.*

S. N. SEN, *Secretary.*

APPENDIX B (II).

Report of the third meeting of the Standing Local Records Sub-Committee held on the 30th November 1940.

PRESENT.

MR. JOHN SARGENT, M.A., *Chairman.*

Captain N. RAMSAY, *Member.*

DR. T. G. P. SPEAR, M.A., Ph.D., *Member.*

DR. S. N. SEN, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.), *Secretary.*

1. Indexing of the Pre-mutiny records.

Resolution I.—Resolved (*i*) that A and B class documents of the late Foreign and Political Department be kept in their original serial order and (*ii*) that one volume of cumulative index be compiled for all A and B class records of all the series up to the year 1789 and from 1790 for successive quinquennia.

2. Possibility of manufacturing in India (1) Hydraulic Press for laminating documents with cellulose acetate foil, (2) Vacuum fumigatorium for regular treatment of records against insect ravages.

Resolution II.—Resolved that further details on the subject be collected.

3. Air-Conditioning of the Imperial Record Department Building by parts.

Resolution III.—Resolved that the Central Public Works Department be asked for advice in the matter.

4. Transfer of the Old Military records of the Government of Bombay to the Imperial Record Department.

Resolution IV.—Resolved that arrangements be made for the transfer of this important series of records from Bombay provided the extra cost could be met from the savings in the Imperial Record Department budget.

5. Equipment for Research Room in the Imperial Record Department.

Resolution V.—Resolved that furniture worth Rs. 750 be purchased for the Research Room, provided the money could be found from the Imperial Record Department budget.

Signature—

JOHN SARGENT, *Chairman.*

N. RAMSAY, *Member.*

T. G. P. SPEAR, *Member.*

S. N. SEN, *Secretary.*

APPENDIX C.

LIST OF RESEARCH REPORTS.

	PAGE.
1. Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., C.I.E.	1
2. Dr. K. R. Subramanian, M.A., Ph.D.	,,
3. Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.	,,
4. Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.	,,
5. Sri Vidyasagara Vidyavachaspati P. P. Subrahmanya Sastriar, B.A. (Oxon).	2
6. Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev, Rajabahadur, M.R.A.S.	3
7. Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.) D.Phil (Giessen)	,,
8. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D (Cal.)	,,
9. Dr. J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph. D. (Lond).	4
10. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A.	,,
11. Mr. L. P. Dutta, M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A. (Lond.)	,,
12. Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D.	,,
13. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., M.L.C.	,,
14. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.	,,
15. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A.	5
16. Sardar Ganda Singh, M.A.	,,
17. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L.	6
18. Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A.	,,
19. Mr. S. A. Shere, M.A. (Lond.), LL.B.	7
20. Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P. R. S.	,,
21. Rai Bahadur Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.)	,,
22. Mr. S. C. Goswami, I.S.O.	,,
23. Mr. S. M. Zaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (Lond.)	8
24. Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.)	,,
25. Dr. Bool Chand, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)	,,
26. Rajacharitravisharada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L.	,,
27. Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Sahityacharya.	9
28. Dr. Bal Krishna, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.E.S., F.S.S., F.R.Hist.S.	,,
29. Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A.	,,
30. Srimati Kamalabai Kibe	,,
31. Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S.,	,,

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32. Mr. R. Vasudeva Paduval, B.A. 10

33. Cavaliero Panduranga Pissurlencar . . . . . ,,

34. Mons. Alfred Lehuraux . . . . . ,,

35. Mr. G. H. Luce, M.A., I.E.S. 13

36. A note on the Mackenzie Ms. by Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A. . ,,

37. A note on the Map regarding the boundary of Midnapore and Orissa in 1803, by Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S. 14

Research Reports from the Corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission (1st April 1939 to 31st March 1940).

1. Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., C.I.E., London.

Wrote the following book:—

A History of the 3/7th Rajput Regiment (D. C. O.).
(This is being published by the Oxford University Press.)

2. Dr. K. R. Subramanian, M.A., Ph.D., Vizianagram.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) History of Andhra Commerce (Immortal Message, Bezwada, November 1939).

(2) Vijayaditya III, a famous Eastern Chalukyan King (Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar 61st Birthday Commemoration Volume).

3. Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Annamalainagar.

Wrote the following book:—

History of Gingee (French version).

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) History of Triplicane under the Company's Rule. [Contributed to the History of Triplicane Temple (in the press); to be published by the Trustee of the temple.]

(2) When Madras was atacked, Parts I-II (New Review, Vol. IX, Calcutta).

(3) The Temple in the Tamil Land and its service. (New Review, Calcutta).

(4) Two Contemporary Pictures of Maharajah Ranjit Singh. (Maharajah Ranjit Singh Centenary Volume, Cawnpore).

(5) Yusuf Khan's rebellion and the French attempt at recovery (1762-64). (I. H. R. C. Procs., Vol. XVI).

(6) Vignettes from the Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai of Pondicherry (1736-61), (The Indian History Congress, Calcutta, December 1939).

4. Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Madras.

Wrote the following book:—

Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthanes to Fa Hian.

Is continuing the study of the South Indian influences in Malay Peninsula and Archipelago and published two papers (i) Kataha and (ii) Notes on the Historical Geography of Malay Peninsula (Journal of the Greater India Society, Vols. V and VII, respectively).

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) A note on the date of Sankara (Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XI).

(2) Southern India, Arabia and Africa (New Indian Antiquary, Vol. I).

(3) The Ceylon Expedition of Jatavarma Vira Panday (8th All India Oriental Conference).

(4) Last days of Vijayanagara (Sardesai Commemoration Volume).

(5) Sri Purambiyam (Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XII).

(6) The beginnings of intercourse between India and China (Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIV).

(7) Sendan Divakaram (Annals of Oriental Research).

(8) Rajaraja I and Coda Bhima (Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. XII).

(9) Ratio of Silver to Gold under Cola rule—A correction (Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. XII).

(10) Two silver plate grants from Batavia Museum (Tidjschrift voor Indische Taal, Land, en Volkenkunde, Deel LXXIX).

(11) Beginnings of British Justice in Madras (Madras Tercentenary commemoration volume).

(12) Tirumala Naik, the Portuguese and the Dutch (I. H. R. C. Procs. Vol. XVI).

(13) The conception of empire in Ancient India (Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939).

(14) Gleanings from Matsya Purana on War and Peace (Annals of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute).

Translated some sheets of Anandaranga Pillai's diary (unpublished so far) received from Professor G. J. Dubreuil of Pondicherry by courtesy of M. Lehuraux of Chandernagore. Later on obtained through the good offices of the same Professor a manuscript which is a continuation of Anandaranga Pillai's diary by Tiruvengadam Pillai. This diary is quite as valuable as that of Anandaranga Pillai translated and published by the Government of Madras in twelve volumes. Tiruvengadam's diary is now being translated in collaboration with Prof. G. J. Dubreuil of Pondicherry and it is intended to edit and publish the translations as they throw much light on the political transactions and social life of the period. All these manuscripts belong to M. Gallois Montbrun of Pondicherry.

A report on his work on the Mackenzie Manuscripts will be found at the end of the research report.

5. Sri Vidyasagara Vidyavachaspati P. P. Subrahmanya Sastriar, B.A., (Oxon.), Madras.

Has listed the Mackenzie manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, and prepared a detailed table of contents for the publication of a Handbook.

Has edited the Halayudha Stotra from the inscriptions on the walls of the Amaresvara Temple (Published in part IV, Volume XXV of the Epigraphia Indica).

Has contributed the following papers:—

(1) Appayya Diksita—The authenticity of his quotation. (Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Iyangar Commemoration Volume, Madras.)

(2) Problems of Identity—(*a*) Vedic Brhaspati and Classical Ganapat (*b*) Govindananda and Ramananda. (Tenth All India Oriental Conference, 1940).

6. Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev, Rajabahadur, M.R.A.S., Tekkali.

Wrote the following papers in the vernacular journal *Sahakar*:—

(1) Ravikiram Deb's Grant of Upalada village.

(2) Grant of Maharaja Kapileswara Deb.

(3) Grant of Sunkalabad Village by Sri Jagannath Narayana Deb.

7. Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), D.Phil. (Giessen), Ahmedabad.

Wrote the following book.—

Kannada Sources for Maratha, Bijapur, and Mughal History. (To be published shortly).

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) Sravana Belgola—Its Secular Importance. (The Jaina Antiquary, Aliganj).

(2) The Pallava Conquest of the Western Coast. (The Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry).

(3) Vaisnavism in Vijayanagara. (Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, Calcutta).

(4) A Note on the Origin of Vijayanagara (The Indian Culture, Calcutta).

(5) The Sikhs in the South. (Paper read at the III Session of the Modern History Congress, Calcutta).

(6) General Randullah Khan's Ikkeri Expeditions. (Procs. of I. H. R. C., Vol. XVI).

(7) Guru Akalanda Deva—His age. (The Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta).

Edited and published the Karnataka Historical Review, V. P. I.

Is endeavouring to trace the whereabouts of a valuable collection of documents relating to Maratha—Karnataka history in and around Dharwar—and a collection of Mughal Imperial Farmans in Ahmedabad.

8. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), Dacca.

Wrote:—

(1) Six articles in Bengali dealing with the genealogical accounts contained in the old Mss. in Bengal of the 15th or 16th century A. D. known as Kulajis (Bharatvarsa, Kartik—Falgun 1346).

(2) "Lama Taranatha's account of Bengal" dealing with the history of the ancient kingdom of Vangala (to be published in the Indian Historical Quarterly).

(3) ' The physical features of Mediaeval Bengal ' in which the author has tried to trace the old course of the more important rivers in Bengal (to be published in Indian Culture).

Is also editing a manuscript of Desavali-Vivriti (written early in the 17th century A. D.) which gives an interesting geographical account of Bengal.

9. Dr. J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Calcutta.

Is engaged in editing a volume of Poona Residency Records dealing with the social and economic life of Maharashtra during the period 1795-1813. Expects to complete the work by the end of this year.

10. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Dacca.

Wrote the following paper:—

(1) The Accession of Nazm-ud-Daulah to the throne of Bengal and the position of the East India Company. (I. H. R. C. Procs., Vol. XVI).

11. Mr. L. P. Dutta, M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A. (London), Calcutta.

Is engaged in the compilation of a genealogical table of the Hatkhola Dutt family of Calcutta, with a historical account of its members from the 12th century to the present day. The history of the family is closely connected with the early history of the East India Company in Bengal and Bihar.

12. Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) Hyder Ali's relations with the Marathas, 1763—65 (I. H. R. C. Procs., Vol. XVI).

(2) Hyder Ali's relations with the Marathas, 1766-67 (Indian Historical Quarterly, March, 1940).

Also read an article on "Peshwa Madhava Rao and the First Anglo-Mysore War" at the 3rd Session of the Indian History Congress, December 1939.

13. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., M.L.C., Lucknow.

Compiled the following work:—

"Indian Land-system, Ancient, Mediaeval, and Modern up to 1793 A. D. with special reference to Bengal". It will be published by the Bengal Government as a part of the "Report of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission", of which he had been a member.

14. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Lucknow.

Published the following book:—

Verelst's Rule in India (based on contemporary manuscript records preserved in the record offices at London, Delhi and Calcutta).

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) A forgotten dispute regarding the right of a Governor to hold the title of Commander-in-Chief. (I. H. R. C. Procs., Vol., XVI).

(2) The Anglo-Dutch disputes in Bengal. (Proceedings of the 3rd Session of the Indian History Congress, 1939).

(3) The future of Parliamentary Government in India. (Twentieth Century, Vol. VI, No. 63).

(4) The miscarriage of Shah Alam's Imperialist adventure in 1769. (Journal of Modern Indian History Society, Lucknow University, Vol. I).

(5) Has Democracy failed in India? (Bihar Herald, Vol. II, No. 6).

(6) The Glories of Mughal Architecture. (Hindustan Standard, Pujah Number, 1939).

(7) Mughal Pastimes. (Advance, Pujah Number, 1939).

(8) Did Italians introduce the *Pietra Dura* in India? (Amrita Bazar Patrika, Pujah Number, 1939).

(9) Is the Qutb Minar a Hindu Monument? (Scholar, Annual Number, 1939).

Read papers on the following historical topics from the All India Radio Station at Lucknow:—

(1) Mughal Pastimes.

(2) Mughal Architecture.

(3) The United Provinces—Pre-Reform Period.

(4) The United Provinces—Montford Reforms.

(5) The United Provinces—After Autonomy.

Is at present engaged in studying the Ms. records relating to the East India Company's administration in India.

Is engaged in supervising the research work of a number of Ph.D. students in the Lucknow University and is assisting them in collecting historical material from the hitherto unexplored Ms. records of the Government of the United Provinces.

15. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Agra.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) A few Mughal documents (Tenth All India Oriental Conference, Tirupati, 1940).

(2) A Persian inscription of Alauddin Khalji discovered at Muttra (Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica).

16. Sardar Ganda Singh, M.A., Amritsar.

Wrote the following books and papers:—

(1) Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Centenary Volume, 1939.

(2) Qazi Nur Muhammad's Jang Namah, giving an account of Ahmad Shah Durrani's Seventh invasion.

(3) The Maratha-Sikh Treaty of 1785. (Indian History Congress, Calcutta, December 1939).

(4) Sir Charles Wilkins' Observations on 'The Sikhs and their College at Patna'.

(5) Maharaja Duleep Singh Dian Do Chitthian—Two letters of the Maharaja dated October 1885 and March 9, 1886.

Edited—Aggra's Var Haqiqat Rai.

Examined Persian manuscripts in the State Libraries of Kapurthala and Rampur for material relating to the history of the Sikhs in the 18th century.

Selected with the help of Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai 678 letters from the Marathi records dealing with the Punjab or the Sikhs.

Worked on the Persian Akhbarat in the Alienation Office, Poona and classified them (I. H. R. C. Procs., Vol. XVI).

Selected 81 letters dealing with the activities of the Sikh Sardars in the latter half of the 18th century from the collection of the Persian news-letters in the Bharata Ithihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona.

17. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Monghyr.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) Magic and Miracle in Jain Literature (Indian Historical Quarterly, July, 1939).

(2) Who were the Pandyas of Madura? (Indian Historical Quarterly, September 1939).

(3) Some Popular derivations in Jain Literature (a) Brahmin and his Yajncpavita (Indian Culture, April, 1939).

(4) Defence of the Frontier of Bihar and Orissa against Maharatta and Pindari Incursions (I. H. R. C. Procs., Vol. XVI).

(5) Jain Influence at Mughal Court (Third Session of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, December, 1939).

(6) Bahubali Gommates' vara (to be published in Jain Antiquary).

(7) Defence of Patna City against Pindari Incursion (to be published in Indian Historical Quarterly).

Is engaged in research regarding:—

(1) Social condition of India from Jain sources.

(2) Revenue History of Bihar from Provincial Records.

18. Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Bhagalpore.

Is engaged in:—

(1) preparing a work on the history of the mediaeval Muslim Dynasties of South India.

(2) editing "Sirat-i-Firozshahi" dealing with the history of Firozshah Tughluq.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) The poets of Bijapur and their Philosophy (I. H. R. C. Procs., Vol. XVI).

(2) The Seige of Asir—A new study (3rd Session, Indian History Congress, 1939).

(3) Firoz Tughluq as a ruler (Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta).

19. Mr. S. A. Shere, M.A. (Lond.), LL.B., Patna.

Is engaged in researches on "The Sharqu Dynasty of Jaunpur" and "Muslim Architecture in Bihar". Discovered a Royal Farman of the Emperor Shah Alam granting some land in "Village Abdur Rahman for a Pergana of Phulwari which is in the Sarkar and Subah of Bihar". The Farman bears the seal of "Shah Alam Bahadur Shah Ghazi Abul Muzaffar Jalaluddin—Regnal year I". Size 2′9″ × 1′6½″.

20. Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Patna.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) Two brothers of Sa'adat Ali of Oudh (Procs. of the 3rd Session of the Indian History Congress, 1939).

(2) Alivardi and the Mayurbhanj Rajah (Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society).

(3) Durlabhram (Annual number, Indian Historical Quarterly).

Is engaged in writing a thesis on:—

Shah Alam and the English.

Examined the following documents:—

(1) Letters from Bengal to the Court of Directors from 1733-39 A. D. (for contributing a chapter on the 'Successors of Murshid Quli' to the "History of Bengal" to be published by the Dacca University).

(2) Transcripts of some unpublished Mutiny papers from the Commissioner's office, Ranchi, for preparing his thesis on "The Mutiny in Bihar, Chota Nagpur, Manbhum and Singhbhum".

(3) Unpublished English records relating to Bihar history during the first four decades of the 19th century (These records have been shifted from the record room of the District Judge of Patna to the Library of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society after being sorted by him).

(4) Bundles of letters in the possession of Babu Kedar Nath Khanna (Clerk, Patna College) at Dinapore, which throw some interesting light on the economic history of Bihar, particularly Dinapore, since the thirties of the 19th century.

Inspected tombs of some military officers who fell in course of the Mutiny (1857-59) in the compound of the Sub-Divisional officer, Deoghar, Santhal Parganas. Some of these have inscriptions containing names and dates.

21. Rai Bahadur Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London), Shillong.

Has edited 'Dr. Francis Hamilton's Account of Assam' compiled in 1807-14 on behalf of the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam. Is also engaged in revising his work entitled, "Anglo-Assamese Relations".

22. Mr. S. C. Goswami, I.S.O., Assam.

Has completed the editing of—

(1) (a) Satwata Tantra and (b) Niti-Latankur on Rajniti, and

(2) descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts referred to in the last year's report.

Has also discovered a land grant of the Emperor Aurangzeb to a Hindu Temple at Gauhati bearing the date 1667 A. D.

23. Mr. S. M. Zaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (Lond.), Peshawar.

Wrote the following books:—

(1) Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India.

(2) Mediaeval India Under Muslim Kings, Vol. II.—the Ghaznawids.

Wrote the following paper:—

A Monument of the Mughal Period—Mosque of Mahabat Khan in Peshawar. (Islamic Culture, Hyderabad—Deccan).

Is engaged in examining certain documents in the possession of the following private individuals:—

(1) Mr. Pir Bakhsh Khan, M.L.A. (Peshawar).

(2) Sahibzada Hafiz Sayyed Fazl Samdani, founder and manager of the Dar-ul-Ulum Rafi-ul-Islam.

24. Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Delhi.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) Lord William Bentinck. (Two articles—The United Provinces Historical Journal, April 1940 and Journal of the Indian History, April 1940).

(2) Lord Ellenborough and Lord William Bentinck (Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1939).

(3) Administration of the Delhi Territory (Journal of the Indian History).

Is engaged in research on the following subjects:—

(1) India in the time of Lord William Bentinck.

(2) Delhi and its territory, 1761 to 1858.

25. Dr. Bool Chand, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Delhi.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) Administrative Determinations. (University of Toronto Law Journal, May 1939).

(2) How will conventions arise in the new Indian Constitution? (Indian Journal of Political Science, July 1939)..

(3) The Fascist State. (The Muslim University Magazine—September 1939).

(4) Constituent Assembly. (Modern Review, March 1940).

(5) The Role of Federalism in the History of Political thought (Modern Review, April, 1939).

26. Rajacharitravisharada Rao Saheb C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Bangalore.

Wrote the following book:—

History of Mysore, Vol. II. 1761-1782 (in the press).

27. Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Sahityacharya, Jodhpur.

Wrote the following book:—

History of Marwar, 1803-1938 A. D., Part II.

Wrote the following papers:—

(1) Maharajah Abhai Singh of Marwar and the Nizam (I. H. R. C. Procs., Vol. XVI).

(2) Maharajah Abhai Singh of Jodhpur and the tactics of the Nizam (Indian History Congress, 3rd Session, 1939).

(3) The early Rashtrakutas of Deccan and Nizam's dominion (All India Oriental Conference, 10th Session, Tirupati, 1940).

28. Dr. Bal Krishna, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.E.S., F.S.S., F.R.Hist.S., Kolhapur.

Secured photographic copies of some documents with a view to identifying the handwriting of Raja Shahu I of Satara and of Raja Sambhaji I of Kolhapur.

Made arrangement to get copies of the Dutch documents from the Hague Records Office but could not do anything substantial in this respect owing to the European War.

29. Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A., Indore.

Is engaged in examining the following records:—

(1) The Kibe family (Indore) records which will throw light on the history of Central India from 1800 to 1857 A. D.

(2) The records of the family of Srimant Khandekar, the Jahgirdar of Panth Piploda.

(3) Sant family records at Partapgarh (Rajputana).

Has acquired some records belonging to late Mr. S. V. Athalye, B.A., of Shiposhi, Ratnagiri District and proposes to make them over to Bharata Itihasa Shamshodhaka Mandala, Poona, as they are related to Maratha history.

30. Sreemati Kamalabai Kibe, Indore.

Is engaged in examining the Kibe family records (Indore).

31. Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S., Mayurbhanj.

Is engaged in—

(1) preparing a map of the boundary of the British possession in Midnapore and Orissa before the conquest of Orissa or Cuttack in 1803. A short note on this subject will be found at the end of the research report.

(2) determining the date and the name of the capital of the Somavamsi—Kesari Kings of Orissa.

Since the days of publication of the Tirumalai inscriptions of Rajendra Chola the actual reading of the text of Yayatinagara, the Capital of Somavamsi—Kesari Kings of Orissa was taken to be as Adinagar. But from a study of the geography of the expedition of Rajendra

Chola and in consultation with the Epigraphist to the Government of India, the conclusion has been reached that Yayatinagar should be read in place of Adinagar. From this identification the date of the Somavamsi Kings of Orissa which was so far assigned from palaeographic evidence has been correctly ascertained. Definite data have also been collected regarding the route of the expedition which differs from that fixed by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar of Madras.

A pre-historic site containing palaeolithic implements has been discovered at Kuliana in Mayurbhanj State.

Gupta gold coins of the archer type of Chandragupta II have been found in Mayurbhanj.

32. Mr. R. Vasudeva Poduval, B.A., Trivandrum.

Examined the historical records of the pre-mutiny period available in the British Residency at Trivandrum.

33. Cavaliero Panduranga Pissurlencar, Nova Goa.

Brought out the VIIth part of his work entitled "Portugueses e Maratas: Tentativos para a Restaur aead da Provincia do Norte". (The Portuguese and the Marathas: Attempts for the recovery of the Province of the North).

34. Mons. Alfred Lehuraux, Chandernagore.

1. The original manuscript of Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary was discovered over 90 years ago in the home of the diarist's descendants by Monsieur A. Gallois-Montbrun—whose family is represented by Mr. Armand Gallois-Montbrun Jr. a former member of the Paris Bar, and the Agent of the B. I. S. N. Company at Pondicherry.

At the Montbrun Mansion at Pondicherry, Mons. Lehuraux, was allowed to examine the papers left by the founder, comprising a mass of Ms. Notes, collected from every conceivable source, on every possible topic connected with Indian history, legend, politics, grammar, language, religion, mythology, epigraphy, astronomy and numismatics. It forms a curious collection of miscellaneous data, very much the worse for age, that a library might be glad to possess provided its literary and historical value are rigorously tested. Among them Mons. Lehuraux found the three manuscripts mentioned below:—

Ms. (1). Pages in Tamil which, on examination by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, were found to be unpublished pages of Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary. (Will form Vol. XIII of the Madras edition).

Ms. (2). A chronicle in Tamil which the same authority pronounced to be the continuation of the Diary carried on after the death of the diarist.

Ms. (3). A Tamil Ms., without the name of the author or the title which proved to be a copy of the *Carnataka Rajakal Savitara Charitram* written by a certain Nayarana Pillai, son of Kalaha Rama Ranga Pillai. It deals with the kings of the Carnatic and was compiled from Hindu and Muslim sources. The fragment ends with the battle of Ambur and has been translated into French and annotated by Maitre M. Gnanou-Diagou, a distinguished advocate and leader of the French Bar of Pondicherry, for the Societe de I, Histoire de I' Inde Francaise. The chronicle was compiled at the instance of Colonel Wm. Macleod, acting Commissioner of Arcot, under the administration of Lord William Bentinck, Governor of Madras, and the original may be found among the Mackenzie manuscripts.

2. Ms. (1). The dates to which the entries refer are as follows:—

1. Prajotpatti Arpisi 29 Thursday—1751 November 11.
2. Prajotpatti Arpisi 30 Friday—1751 November 12.
3. Prajotpatti Karttigai 1 Saturday—1751 November 13.
4. Prajotpatti Karttigai 3 Monday—1751 November 15.
5. Prajotpatti Karttigai 4 Tuesday—1751 November 16.
6. Prajotpatti Karttigai 5 Wednesday—1751 November 17.
7. Prajotpatti Karttigai 6 Thursday—1751 November 18.
8. Prajotpatti Karttigai 16 Sunday—1751 November 28.
9. Prajotpatti Karttigai 17 Monday—1751 November 29.
10. Prajotpatti Karttigai 18 Tuesday—1751 November 30.
11. Prajotpatti Margali 23 Monday—1752 January 3.
12. Prajotpatti Margali 24 Tuesday—1752 January 4.
13. January 6, 1752
14. January 7, 1752
15. January 9, 1752
16. October (Sukla Purattasi 19) 1749.
17. March 1, 1750.
18. July 20, 1751
19. January 6, 1744
20. September 23, 1756
21. 15th June 1749

Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, the translator, has not found any record of outstanding importance in these pages—only one entry that under date 12 September 1751, is of sufficient interest to deserve mention here:—

"This morning M. Dupleix having decided to place an inscription at Dupleix-Fathabad, where Nas'r Jung was killed by Himmat-Bahadur wrote:—

'The 35th year of the King Louis XV, the 3rd year of the reign of Amad-shah the French General Porvost de Latouche, acting in the name of Governor Dupleix, killed Nas'r Jung on this spot.'

"This inscription was to be written in 6 languages, *viz.*: french, tamil, telugu, persian, guzrati and mahratti. Dupleix gave the french text to the engineer M. Abeille who was to engrave it as well as the other texts."

It brings to light for the first time, the text of the inscription for the famous commemorative pillar which Dupleix selected for the projected site of the city of Dupleix-Fathabad, and which was six months later, destroyed by Clive.

3. Ms. (2). The chronicle written after Ananda Ranga Pillai's death is again an anonymous account of the journey of the family from Pondicherry to Tranquebar. The removal of the family was effected after the fall of Pondicherry. The chronicle opens, says the translator, Professor Nilakanta Sastri, with an account of the progress of the siege but has too many gaps to constitute a consecutive narrative. The family took with them the bundle of the precious Diary (dinacarite), and a few swords. The account of the siege begins on the

1st of Tai (mid-January) and the family is found in Tranquebar on the 7th, Friday. Two documents, attached to this chronicle, are also anonymous: One gives particulars, which *prima facie*, are not trustworthy, of the ships captured by the English and the French from each other in the European waters, and is dated simply 1761. It also refers in general terms to the seige and the booty that fell to the English. The other is an address to a General—presumably the English General in occupation—from a conference (maha-nadu) presumably of the people of Pondicherry. It is incomplete and gives a general account of the French rule under successive governors, including details of fiscal oppression to which the people had been subjected.

4. Ms. (3). Maitre Gnanou-Diagou's translation of the *Carnataka Rajakal* is a conscientious piece of work, but it is marred by a bad mutilation of proper names in the Tamil Ms. which the translator has not been at sufficient pains to correct; and Professor Nilakanta Sastri further found that the Ms. itself differs considerably from the chronicle as preserved in the Mackenzie manuscripts.

5. The city of the victory of Dupleix.—M. Lehuraux is engaged in investigations about the place where Nawab Nasir Jang, met with his death; and the site of the city of Dupleix-Fathabad. From evidence sifted both in India (Madras, Pondicherry and Hyderabad) and in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris (Letters from the field from Dupleix's Lieutenants), and assisted by the erudition and local knowledge of Professor G. Jouveau-Dubreuil of the College Colonial and Frere Faucheux of the Foreign Mission, Pondicherry, the conclusion arrived at was that Dupleix-Fathabad is the modern Velimedoupet in Tindivanam taluk, South Arcot. This assumption is supported by the Mackenzie manuscripts restored vol. I, p. 434, lines 26-9 and Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary, vol. VII, p. 420.

6. Examined the following records in the different archives of the Bombay Presidency:—

(1) The Marathi records at the Alienation Office, Poona, for evidence of the relations of the French with the Maratha Darbar, *circa*, 1750 to 1810.

The Residency Records. Roz Kird and Chitnisi Papers, Paghe and Phatke (Cavalry and Infantry) sections with the assistance of Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, M.A., former Curator of the Satara Museum, made transcriptions of letters referring to Bussy's expedition to and the events of his government in Hyderabad 1750 to 1759.

Preparation of a complete summary of the available information relating to this eventful period is in contemplation.

(2) Bharata Itihasa Samshodhka Mandala:—Examined the selections from the Peshwas' Daftar and the Purandare Daftar, the Itihasa—Sangraha Aitihasik—Tipane, and Kavyetihasa—Sangraha, on the same topic. News-letters from Vasudeb Dikshit and Banaji Madherao (Peshwa's Vakils at Aurangabad) to the Peshwa giving brief accounts of the murder of Nasir Jang and the accession and subsequent death of Muzaffar Jang were transcribed.

(3) Deccan College (Post-Graduate and Research Institute). Examined the Macartney papers, comprising a miscellaneous collection of English and French letters—the latter chiefly from the French Prisoners on parole *e.g.*, Captain de Joyeuse, Commander of the 'Naiad' frigate, Lieut. Perichon de Beauplan, Le Chevalier de Boistel, M. de Bois-Gelin late Captain of the frigate 'Chacon'. The most interesting letter is the one from Admiral de Suffren, dated the 4th April, 1783, relative to a proposed cartel of exchange and the vexed question of the English prisoners.

Found four separate accounts of the battle of Cuddalore of the 13th June, 1783, in one of which the Hanoverian Colonel (afterwards General), Wangenheim is mentioned; as well as Captain (Pierre Daille) Bonnevaux in command of the European—Grenadiers, a Frenchman who elected, to serve the English East India Company in 1766 and who, after a distinguished and varied career, died in Colombo where he had taken over the command on the death of the Major-General Doyle 1797.

The current legend is that a young French sergeant, captured in the battle of Cuddalore, was befriended by Wangenheim. When Wangenheim met him next he had already earned fame as Marshal Bernadotte and become King of Sweden. Bernadotte's "etat de service" however make no reference to his alleged Indian career.

7. French Graves at Poona.

M. Lehuraux endeavoured to ascertain from local sources, civil, ecclesiastical and military evidence of the Frenchmen, the Portuguese and other adventurers in the service of Daulat Rao Sindhia and Jaswant Rao Holkar, the names of the foreign officers who fell at the battle of Hadapsar, 25th October, 1802. Incidentally a searching local investigation was made at Sankerseth Road, Ghorpade lines and Garpir; but no burial records of this period (immediately preceding the British occupation) exist. It is a matter for surprise and regret that although the Government of India had called for records of the Christian burial grounds throughout the Presidency, no care appears to have been taken to rescue from oblivion the oldest military graves in Poona city—between the last years of the last Peshwa and the definite establishment of British rule—and this, despite the fact that the annual upkeep of these graves had been the concern of the Public Works Department. Perhaps the Bombay Record Office holds the secret of these graves.

35. Mr. G. H. Luce, M.A., I.E.S., Rangoon.

Mr. Luce and his assistant U. Sein discovered well over fifty new stones containing inscriptions in the dry zone of Central Burma—their dates generally lying between the twelfth and sixteenth century A. D. (Burma Archaeological Report, 1937-38).

The Endowment Fund of Rangoon University has been financing most of these researches as well as the publication of 3 large portfolios (345 plates) of the *Inscriptions of Burma*—collotype reproductions of the earliest inscriptions, arranged as far as possible in chronological order, and published by the Oxford University Press. These contain nearly all the original historical documents of Burma yet discovered down to 1300 A. D. The material for two more portfolios has recently gone to press, bringing the collection down to the founding of Ava 1365 A. D.

36. A note on the Mackenzie Manuscript* By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Madras.

The work on the Mackenzie manuscripts is being continued. Summaries have been prepared so far of 84 manuscripts in Telugu and 74 in Tamil. The present scheme includes:—

(1) The publication as early as possible of a complete handbook to the Mackenzie collection which will give detailed summaries of all records with

* In continuation of the report published on pages 208-11 of the I. H. R. C. proceedings, Vol. XIV.

complete cross references to all the copies of the same record that may be found in the collection to enable the student who consults it to know at a glance what there is in the collection on any particular topic.

(2) The publication *in extenso* of selected manuscripts which are considered suitable for critical editions of them being brought. One manuscript "Velugotivarivarivamsavali" has been published by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Reader in Indian History, Madras University. Another, "Ramappayyan Ammanai" has been studied and edited by Rao Saheb S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, Reader in Tamil University of Madras. The work has been sanctioned for publication by the Syndicate of the Madras University. A third work, the "Karnataka Rajakkal Savistara Cantai", is also being edited by him in the original in collaboration with me. It may be added that a good portion of "Further Sources of Vijayanager," a joint work of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya and myself, sanctioned for publication in the University Historical series is based on the information gathered from the Mackenzie manuscripts.

(3) Some early inscriptions, otherwise unknown or only known in imperfect copies, have been recovered with the aid of these manuscripts and will soon be published with suitable introduction and notes.

37. A note on the map under preparation by Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S., Mayurbhanj, regarding the boundary of Midnapore and Orissa in 1803.

The boundary of the British possession in Midnapore and Orissa before the conquest of Orissa or Cuttack in 1803 is very ill-defined in the published records. In order to make a clear identification, a map has been prepared with the help of records showing the pargannas that actually belonged to the British in the Midnapore portion of Orissa and it shows that the river Subarnarekha which was defined to be the boundary of Mughal Orissa and the Marhatta Orissa according to the treaty of 1751 executed by Nawab Aliverdikhan of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, was not the actual boundary. On the side of the jungle Mahals of Midnapore, the Pargana Dipa Kiarchand lying to the north of the river was held by a feudatory of Mayurbhanj in Marhatta Orissa and the adjoining small Pargana of Barajit was in possession of the British and to the west of Barajit the Pargana Nayabasan belonging to Mayurbhanj situated on both the sides of the river. On the east of Mayurbhanj the Parganas of Nayagram, Jamirapal and Olmara on the right bank of the river were in possession of Mayurbhanj, out of which Pargana, Olmara now is surrounded on all sides by the British Districts of Midnapore and Balasore. No information is available from published records about the Pargana Fatehabad situated between the Parganas of Olmara and Amarda of Mayurbhanj on the right bank of the river although it belongs to the Balasore district now. To the south of Jaleswar, the British possession in the Pargana Bhelorachore extended upto Basta and the Parganas Langelswar and others were again in the possession of Mayurbhanj upto the sea shore. To the east of Jaleswar the Parganas Nampachaur, Bhograi and Pataspur were in possession of the Marhattas and to the east of Pataspur Pargana lay the British possession of Hijilli under Hughly. The map is not fully prepared as the list of villages of each Parganas could not be procured to identify the area of the Parganas in the district of Midnapore.

APPENDIX D.

Progress Report of the Classification of the Company Records in the Imperial Record Department (completed).

Serial No.	Details of series.	Period.	No. of documents classified as A & B.	No. of documents classified as C.	Total No. of documents.	Remarks.
1	*Select* Committee	1762-1774	30	1	31	
2	Secret	1764-1859	1,28,089	12,353	1,40,442	
3	Secret and Separate ..	1773-1811	5,120	82	5,202	
4	Foreign	1783-1842	16,428	356	16,784	
5	Political	1790-1859	3,18,061	62,417	3,80,478	
6	Secret Department of Inspection.	1770-1787	308	9	317	
7	Public	1761-1857	85,299	1,28,867	2,14,166	
8	Public G. G.'s Proceedings ..	1837-1855	2,128	2,047	4,175	
9	Judicial	1834-1857	7,178	12,138	19,316	
10	Judicial G. G.'s Proceedings	1831-1851	915	3,757	4.672	
11	Education	1857	194	296	490	
12	Medical	1845-1857	1,685	27,938	29,623	
13	Land Revenue	1830-1859	2,664	3,283	5,947	
14	Ecclesiastical	1815-1859	9,250	19,091	11,569	
15	Railways	1850-1859			16,772	
16	Emigration	1835-1859				
17	Post Office	1855-1859	24,007	29,576	107	
18	Public Works and Electric Telegraph	1850-1859			1,033 52,443	
19	Military	1786-1859	1,59,366	1,77,126	2,91,498	
20	Military Up-Country Proceedings	1837-1859			35,000	
21	Marine	1838-1859			9,994	
22	Estate Papers	1826-1859	50,000	..	50,000	
23	Quarter Master General's Proceedings.	1841-1859	29,962	24,739	54,701	
24	Finance	1790-1859	68,433	59,577	1,28,010	
25	Legislative	1777-1854	28,105	4,282	32,387	
	Total ..	..	9,37,222	5,67,935	15,05,157	

APPENDIX E.

Imperial Record Department (Historical Research) Rules.

RULES REGULATING HISTORICAL RESEARCHES AMONG THE RECORDS IN THE CUSTODY OF THE IMPERIAL RECORD DEPARTMENT.

1. These rules may be called the Imperial Record Department (Historical Research) Rules. They shall govern access to all records in the custody of the Imperial Record Department, including those of the Crown Representative, but the privilege of inspecting any records personally (by the research student) will be limited to the records of the period from the earliest time down to the year 1880.

2. For the purposes of these rules—

(1) The Keeper means the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India.

(2) A *bona fide* research student is a person who falls within any one of the following categories :—

(*i*) Ordinary and Corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

(*ii*) Professors and Readers of a recognised University in India.

(*iii*) Post-Graduate research workers of a recognised University, who must satisfy the Keeper as to their *bona fides* by producing a certificate from the Vice-Chancellor or the appropriate professor of their University and any further evidence that the Keeper may consider necessary.

(*iv*) Any Government official accepted by the Keeper as a research student, when the work is undertaken with the approval of the Head of Department of the applicant.

(*v*) Any other person accepted by Departments conncerned as research students on the joint recommendation of the Keeper and the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India.

3. (*a*) All applications under these rules, other than those from representatives or subjects of Indian States, for inspection of or information from records should be addressed to the Keeper.

(*b*) All applications from representatives or subjects of Indian States should be submitted through the local Political Officer concerned to the Political Department.

(*c*) Research students from Indian States must produce credentials from the local Political Officer concerned about their *bona fides*.

(*d*) Applicants who are aliens must produce introductions from His Britannic Majesty's Diplomatic or Consular Representatives in their countries of origin to satisfy the External Affairs Department that they are genuine research students.

4. A *bona fide* research student may, at the discretion of the Keeper, be allowed to examine the records personally in the Research Room, and each case will be considered on its merits on receipt of an application in the form prescribed in Appendix I.

5. The Keeper may, at his discretion, supply such information as he considers unexceptionable, to persons applying for information from the records, on payment of the prescribed fees (*vide* Appendix II), subject to the following conditions :—

(*i*) No information from the records of the Political Department and/or the External Affairs Department shall be supplied to any person who is not a *bona fide* research scholar, until the material to be supplied has been examined and passed by the Political Department and/or the External Affairs Department as the case may be.

(*ii*) No information shall be supplied to any person who is a representative or subject of an Indian State, until the material to be supplied has been examined and passed by the Political Department.

(*iii*) *Bona fide* research students will not be required to pay the examination fee mentioned in Appendix II.

6. (*a*) Admission to the Research Room will be regulated by tickets. An admission ticket will hold good only for the period for which it has been issued, but may be renewed at the expiry of that period, at the discretion of the Keeper.

(*b*) Records may be inspected only within the Research Room and in the presence of a member of the supervisory staff. Copies of or extracts from records shall not be taken out of the office building, nor shall any use be made of any information from the records without the written permission of the Keeper.

(*c*) The Research Room will be open to all research students permitted to inspect records on every day, except Sundays and other closed holidays observed by the Imperial Record Department. The hours of admission and attendance will be from 10-30 A.M. to 4-30 P.M. except on Saturday when they will be from 10-30 A.M. to 2-0 P.M. On a written request from a research student, the Research Room may be kept open on holidays for him on payment of Rs. 4 per diem. All suggestions and complaints in regard to the administration of the Research Room should be made in writing to the Superintendent of the Imperial Record Department.

7. (*a*) All extracts taken from the records must be submitted *daily* through the Superintendent to the Keeper, with a list of the documents from which excerpts have been taken in the prescribed form (*vide* Appendix III). The research students will be solely responsible for the accuracy and authenticity of the excerpts taken from the records. The excerpts will be certified as true copies only when the fees for comparing are paid at the prescribed rate (*vide* Appendix II). Such of them as the Keeper considers unobjectionable, will be released. If, however, any research student feels that the decision of the Keeper is not reasonable he may apply to the Department concerned through the Keeper for the release of such extracts as the Keeper may have withheld provided that he pays in advance fees for typing and examination at the prescribed rate (*vide* Appendix II).

(*b*) No note or transcription shall be removed from the Research Room without the express permission of the Keeper.

8. Records and documents which are of exceptional value or are unwieldy or fragile shall be examined on such conditions as the Keeper may impose. No student shall be entitled to examine records which have been labelled " unfit for production ".

9. Silence shall be maintained in the Research Room. Smoking there will be strictly prohibited, and no person may chew *pan* or other like substance while working in the Research Room, nor may he place any articles of food on tables meant for keeping records, documents or other papers.

10. No student shall have more than five documents and two volumes at a time, except by the special permission of the Superintendent. No volume or papers shall be delivered to a student until he has submitted to the Research Room Assistant a duly signed requisition in the form provided for this purpose by the Imperial Record Department. He should return the records, when no longer required, to the Research Room Assistant and get back his requisition slips. A student shall be held responsible for the records issued to him so long as his requisition slip remains with the officials of the Imperial Record Department.

11. (*a*) Records and documents shall not be removed from the Research Room on any account. Books or other articles belonging to the Imperial Record Department shall not be removed from the office building without the specific permission of the Superintendent.

(*b*) Research students shall take every care of the documents and records in their possession and shall not damage them in any way.

(*c*) Large folio volumes shall be placed on book-rests and handled as little as possible.

(*d*) No one shall lean on any of the documents, or put one document on top of another or place upon them the paper on which he is writing.

(*e*) No mark of any description shall be made on any record.

(*f*) To avoid ink being spilt on records, the use of an inkstand will not be allowed. If the volumes or documents can be placed on book-rests a fountain pen may be used for the purpose of taking notes or extracts; in all other cases notes or extracts shall be taken in pencil. A research student may use his own typewriter in taking notes from records if others working in the Research Room do not take any exception.

12. (*a*) All copies, extracts and notes should be made in a legible manner. In cases where they are difficult to read, the Keeper will get them typed for his own inspection at the cost of the research student concerned, and his decision in such cases shall be final.

(*b*) No photographic reproduction or tracing of records shall be made by any research student without the written permission of the Keeper.

13. Any research student who uses the documents released by the Imperial Record Department for purposes of historical research and publishes works based on those records shall deposit in the Imperial Record Department one copy of each work free of charge immediately after publication.

14. The concession of personal inspection of records in the Research Room may at the discretion of the Keeper, be withheld for any sufficient reason, such as—

Wilful breach of any of the foregoing rules, persistent disregard of Officer's authority, damage of any sort to any record or article belonging to the Imperial Record Department, conduct, language, habits, unseemly dress or any other matter offensive, or likely to be offensive to the members of the staff or to others using the Research Room.

APPENDIX I.

(Form of application for admission to the Research Room in the Imperial Record Department.)

To

THE KEEPER OF THE RECORDS* OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
New Delhi.

SIR,

I beg to apply for a ticket of admission to the Research Room of the Imperial Record Department for inspection of records. I promise to comply with the rules and conditions in force there.

1. Name .....
2. Title .....
3. Designation .....
4. Profession .....
5. Domicile .....
6. Subject of search .....
7. Period for which admission is sought for .....
8. Recommended by† .....
9. Signature and Date .....
10. Address .....

Particulars of records to be consulted.

	Department.	Period.	Remarks.
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			

* All applications from representatives or subjects of Indian States shall be submitted through the local Political Officer concerned and the Political Department.

† Not necessary in case of members of the Indian Historical Records Commission and Professors or Readers of recognised Universities.

APPENDIX II.

TABLE OF FEES.

(The charges detailed below are cumulative and not alternative.)

1. *Search fee—*
   (*a*) Index for a year @ As. 8.
   (*b*) Specified document @ As. 8 each.
2. *Transcription fee—*
   (*a*) Transcription covering a foolscap sheet in double spacing @ As. 4 each sheet.
   (*b*) Comparison of typescripts with originals @ As. 2 each foolscap sheet.
   (*c*) Duplicate and triplicate copies @ As. 3 each sheet.
3. *Examination fee—*
   Scrutiny of each batch of 10 pages of foolscap typescript Rs. 2

APPENDIX III.

Detailed list of excerpts taken from records by.....

Date and number of consultation.	Particulars of the excerpts.	Remarks.

APPENDIX F.

List showing the names of the ordinary and the corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

(Corrected up to the 31st December 1940.)

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

No.	Name.
1	The Honourable Member in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands.
2	Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., Hony. D.Litt., M.R.A.S. (Lond)., P255, Lansdowne Road Extension, Calcutta.
3	Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.A., D. Litt., Head of the Department of History, University of Allahabad, 31, Stanley Road, Allahabad.
4	Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
5	Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Hony. Ph.D., M.R.A.S., 143, Brodie's Road, Mylapore, Madras.
6	Dr. Gulshan Lal Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab.
7	Lt.-Col. H. Bullock, Deputy Judge Advocate-General, North-Western Circuit, Headquarters, Northern Command, Murree/Rawalpindi.
8	Khan Bahadur A.F.M. Abdul Ali, M.A., F.R.S.L., 3, Nawab Abdur Rahman Street, Calcutta.
9	Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal.
10	Curator, Madras Record Office, Egmore, Madras.
11	Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, New Delhi.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

No.	Name.	Centre.
	(i) *Outside India.*	
1	Sir William Foster, C.I.E., formerly Superintendent of Records, India Office, Mountfield Court, 179, West Heath Road, London, N. W. 3	London.
2	Mr. W. T. Ottewill, O.B.E., Superintendent of Records, India Office, Whitehall, London, S. W. 1	
3	Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., C.I.E., C/o Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son, Ltd., Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, London. W. 1	
4	Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., M.A., B.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., Cromwell's House, Woodstock, Oxford.	
5	Mr. U. Ba Dun, Bar.-at-Law, Secretary, Burma Legislative Council, Rangoon	Rangoon.
6	Mr. G.H. Luce, M.A. (Cantab.), I.E.S., Lecturer in Far Eastern History, University College, Rangoon	

No.	Name.	Centre.
	(ii) *In India.*	
	(a) *Provinces.*	
	Madras.	
7	Dr. K. R. Subramanian, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of History and Economics, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram	Vizianagram.
8	Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor and Head of the Department of History and Politics, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar	Annamalainagar.
9	Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archæology, Madras University, Madras	Madras.
10	Mr. M. Venkatarangaiya, M.A., Reader in History, Andhra University, Waltair	Waltair.
	Bombay.	
11	Mr. D. V. Potdar, B.A., Secretary, Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona	Poona.
12	Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, B.A., P. O. Kamshet, District Poona ..	
13	Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. (London), D.Phil. (Giessen), Prof. of History, S. L. D. Arts College, Ahmedabad	Ahmedabad.
	Bengal.	
14	Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., 2/1, Lovelock Street, Calcutta ..	Calcutta.
15	Dr. J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Economics, Presidency College, Calcutta	Calcutta.
16	Hakim Habibur Rahman, Hakim Habibur Rahman Road, Dacca ..	Dacca.
17	Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, Dacca	Dacca.
18	Mr. K. Zachariah, M.A. (Oxon.), I.E.S., Principal, Islamia College, Wellesley Street, Calcutta	Calcutta.
19	Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Head of the Department of Political Science, Dacca University, Dacca	Dacca.
20	Mr. Lalita Prasad Dutta, M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A. (Lond.), P. O. Birnagar, Distt. Nadia, Bengal	Nadia.
21	Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Calcutta University, 47A, Ekdalia Road, Calcutta	Calcutta.
	United Provinces.	
22	Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hassan, B.A., Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Northern Circle, Agra	Agra.
23	Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Professor and Head of the Department of Indian History, Lucknow University, Lucknow	Lucknow.

No.	Name.	Centre.
24	Mr. J. C. Taluqdar, M.A., Professor of History, St. John's College, Agra.	Agra.
25	Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Lecturer, Department of Indian History, Lucknow University, Lucknow	Lucknow.
26	Dr. Bool Chand, M.A., Ph.D., Prof. of Political Science, Benares Hindu University, Benares	Benares.
	Punjab.	
27	Lala Sita Ram Kohli, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., Principal, Government Intermediate College, Hoshiarpur	Hoshiarpur.
28	Lala Ram Chand Manchanda, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Lahore	Lahore.
29	Sardar Ganda Singh, M.A., Lecturer in Sikh History, Khalsa College, Amritsar	Amritsar.
30	Mr. J. F. Bruce, M.A., Professor of History, Punjab University, Lahore	Lahore.
	Bihar.	
31	Dr. Subimal Chandra Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Principal, Patna College, Patna	Patna.
32	Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Principal, D. J. College, Monghyr ..	Monghyr.
33	Dr. Mohammad Nazim, M.A., Ph.D., Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Central Circle, Patna	Patna.
34	Dr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur	Bhagalpur.
35	Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Lecturer, Patna College, Patna	Patna.
36	Mr. S. A. Shere, M.A., Curator, Patna Museum, Patna	Patna.
	Assam.	
37	Rai Bahadur Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), B.L., Special University Officer to the Govt. of Assam, Shillong	Shillong.
38	Mr. S. C. Goswami, I.S.O., Inspector of Schools, Assam	Assam.
	North-West Frontier Province.	
39	Mr. S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (Lond.), Khudadad Road, Peshawar ..	Peshawar.
	Delhi.	
40	Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Information Officer, Defence Department, New Delhi	Delhi.

No.	Name.	Centre.
	(b) *Indian States.*	
41	Mr. R. M. Crofton, I.C.S., Director-General, Revenue Department, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan) ..	Hyderabad.
42	Syed Khurshed Ali, Director, Daftar-e-Divani, Mal and Mulki, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan)	Hyderabad.
43	Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Editor, the Mysore Economic Journal, Siddicutta, Bangalore	Bangalore.
44	Mr. R. K. Ranadive, M.A., Manager, Huzur Political Office, Baroda ..	Baroda.
45	Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade, Gwalior	Gwalior.
46	Dr. Prakash Chandra, M.A., LL.,B., Ph.D. (Lond.), Professor of Civics and Political Science, Victoria College, Gwalior	Gwalior.
47	Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, M.A. (Oxon.), F. R.Hist.S., Pro-Vice Chancellor, University of Travancore, Trivandrum, and Director of Public Instruction, Travancore	Travancore and Cochin.
48	Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A., Director of Archæology, Travancore State, Trivandrum.	Trivandrum.
49	Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A., Saraswati Niketan, Indore State, Indore	Indore.
50	Srimati Kamalabai Kibe, Indore	Indore.
51	Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Sahityacharya, Superintendent, Archæological Department, Jodhpur	Jodhpur.
52	Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B.Sc., State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj State, Baripada, Orissa	Mayurbhanj.
	(c) *Foreign Possessions in India.*	
53	Mons. Alfred Lehuraux, Rue Desbassyus 'de Ricehmont Chandernagore, French India	Chandernagore.
54	Cavaliero Panduranga Pissurlencar, Member, Lisbon Academy of Sciences and Curator, Historical Records of Portuguese India, Nova Goa	Nova Goa.

APPENDIX G.

A list of Commemorative tablets on notable buildings in the Baroda State.

1. *British Residency.*—This building was the dwelling place of General Sir J. Outram, Baronet, G.C.B., and General Sir R. Meade, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., whose careers were distinguished in other parts of India, and who left enduring marks on the history of Baroda.

2. *Songadh.*—This fort was built by Shrimant Pilajirao Gaekwad in 1728-29 A.D. and formed the headquarters of the Gaekwad House from 1729 to about 1766 A. D.

3. *Baba Piyara Ghat.*—This ford was used in ancient times for crossing the river Narmada for entering Central Gujarat from the South through the Rajpipla State.

4. *Baroda Fort.*—This fort was originally built by Bahadur Shah Sultan of Gujarat (1526-1536 A.D.). It was finally captured by Shrimant Damajirao Gaikwad in 1734 A.D. It had been the capital of the Gaekwads in about 1766 A.D.

5. *Thuvavi.*—On this battle field on the 1st April 1731 A.D. Senapati Trimbakrao Dabhade and Shrimant Pilaji Gaekwar's son named Sayajirao were killed in action between the Peshwa Bajirao I, and the Senapati. The battle is known as the battle of Dabhoi.

6. *Dabhoi* (*Ancient Darbhabati*).—This fort was originally built by Sidharaj Jaisinha (1093-1142 A.D.) and restored by the Vaghela King Visaldev (1243-1261 A.D.).

7. *Savli.*—Tomb of Mir Kamaluddin Husseinkhan Nawab Sardar of Baroda who died at Rutlam during the Malwa campaign in 1819 A.D.

8. *Patan.*—Here Shrimant Damajirao Gaikwad II, Ruler of Baroda breathed his last on 18th August 1768 A.D.

9. *Patan.*—The remains of Damajirao II Gaikwad were cremated here on the 18th August 1868.

10. *Patan* (*Ranivav*).—This celebrated step well was built by Udayamati mother of Karna Deo and Queen of Solanki Bhim Deo I (1022 to 1026 A.D.).

11. *Patan* (*Khansarovar*).—This magnificant tank, originally a work of a Solanki King was restored by Khan Azam Mirza Aziz Kokah (1589-94 A.D.) foster brother of Emperor Akbar and Governor of Gujarat. It measures 1228×1273 feet.

12. *Modera* (*Surya Mandir*).—This temple dedicated to the Sun God was originally built by the Solanki King, Bhimdeo I (1022-1063 A.D.).

13. *Sidhpur* (*Rudramal*).—This temple named Rudra Mahalaya dedicated to Shiva was commenced by the Solanki King Mulraja (942-97 A.D.) and completed by Sidharaja Jayasinha (1094-1143 A.D.). It covers an oblong 23×300 feet. The greater portion of this temple was ruthlessly demolished by Ulughkhan in 1297 and by Ahmadashah in 1415 A.D.

APPENDIX H.

Reprinted from Notes and Queries, November 18th, 1939.

A LETTER FROM CALCUTTA, 1770.

The following is a copy of a letter from Calcutta dated December 17, 1770. It was given to me many years ago by a friend in Calcutta whose name I unfortunately am unable to recollect. I omit some lines toward the close of the letter : they cannot have been intended for Mr. Cockburn to read to his wife !

DEAR COCKBURN.

I wrote you from the Cape and Madras both which I hope you will have received. I could not then give you any information about yr affairs, and even now can give you very little. I waited on Dr. Banks with the letters of attorney and yours. He then told me that he was to remit money to you by way of Madrass which I hope he has done. He told me likewise that all his money was at Madrass, and he had not one farthing here. He has got a good deal of money to receive on Mr. Cooper's acct. Money is extremely scarce here, so much that you would hardly believe it possible that a man worth 2,00,000£ can not pay a bill of 12£ within a fortnight. The scarcity of money has almost entirely ruined the trade here. I am much afraid that I shall make but a very bad voyage of it. However I hope times will mend by and by. I have got a petch of Chintz for Mrs. Cockburn, a cane for you, so you see I dont forget you. Pray give my best respects to Mrs. Cockburn and hope that she has got the better of her complaints and is a mother of a Tom Cock or Polly or any name. Banks never invited me to dine with him and behaved very dryly. He sent a copy of the power of attorney to Madrass. Mr. Boswell gave our affidavits that we saw it signed, etc., lawfully. He has no answer yet. I waited on him yesterday morning and told I should write you by this ship. He said he had nothing particular to say to you only his Com^{s}. I shall write you again as soon as I have an answer from him about Mrs. Macdonald. I believe if he wanted to give me money on y^{r} account he could not do it, it being so very scarce that I am obliged to barter my goods. However he has no excuse to make for not sending what he has on his hands by the Company's cash as they will now take in any sum and has been so these two years. They give bills to be accepted at ninety days sight and a third to be paid the first year and so on till it is all paid, it bearing interest at 3 pr. Ct from the date of acceptance. I think that would be better than having it on his hands. He is not very rich but I believe there is no fears of him. I can assure you that if it was not on yr acct. I should not go nyh him for he might have behaved a little more civilly, but enough of him.

There has been a great mortality amongst the black inhabitants here. They compute about twelve hundred thousand have died in this kingdom. In the streets of Calcutta you might have seen 20 or 30 in a day lying dead for meer want of rice and there they lie till night when they are devoured by Jackalls and dogs. I myself have seen half a black man lying in the streets that the dogs, etc., had not time to destroy, and there has been instances of the black people eating the dead ones.

They have got here a very neat play-house and scenes and generally act 6 plays in the year, I have seen two. They are performed by Gentlemen in the settlement. There is one in particular who acts the part of a woman amazingly well. I have seen Fleetwood act. He was once an actor at Covent Garden but got out as Factor to India. He was offered one thousand pounds a year to stay in England.

but would not. He acts extremely well. There is one tomorrow night, viz., Hamlet to which I am to squire a lady. There is a great number of Ladies here, but both here and at Madrass they put on such affected airs that there is hardly any bearing of them. Suppose most of them were only chamber maids and mopsqueezers in England. There is a lady here whom you might have known in Edin., viz., Miss Falkener. She was there I believe a lady of easy virtue, nay am pretty certain of it. However she is as bad as any of them, and I am sure that a man who knew them in England and saw them here wd say with an ancient philosopher O tempora. O Mores. I have been at two or three balls (for there is one every week), but did not dance any. I have been once.....since I came to India but have got the better of it. There are some very good pieces here (black and yellow) and I go pretty often that way, but am very cautious since my last misfortune. There is a place called Barnegore about 3 miles from Calcutta where three or four go once a week and stay the night. We carry wine, etc., with us and are very merry.....Pray don't forget to remember me to Mrs. Cockburn, Mr. and Mrs. Cooper, and excuse so much nonsense.

From your very sincere friend,

JOHN BROWN.

CALCUTTA ;

December 17th, 1770.

P.S.—I wish you all a merry Christmas and happy new year, and many returns. J. B. We expect to sail in March next.

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

APPENDIX I.

Note on the Manuscript Library of the Nakshabandi family at Balapur in Berar.

(By Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, B.A., LL.B., Berar.)

Balapur is at present the head quarter of the Tahsil of that name in Akola District of Berar. It is twenty miles to the South of Akola and is connected with it by a mettled road. Motor lorries run at any time of the day to and fro between these towns.

Balapur has got historical importance, in as much as, it was head quarter of the Subahdar of the Deccan for some time during the Moghal period. Murad baksha son of Akbar the great, was Subahdar of the Deccan ; he had founded Shahpur and built a palace there for his residence. He died at Shahpur which is only 12 miles from Balapur. It is ruined now. Few tombs and the traces of the foundations of the palace and other buildings mark the place which was once a Capital of the Deccan during the Moghal period. In the India Museum at London there is a map of the East Indies comprehending the estate or kingdom of the great Moghal. It was printed in 1650-A.D. during the reign of Aurangzeb. It records only Shahpur as the place of importance in Berar. In Balapur there is a fort built in stone and bricks on the delta formed by two rivers. The surrounding walls and gates are in tact. It appears to have been constructed under the Mohomedan rule. Near the fort a battle was fought between the Nizam and the Moghal general Alam ali khan who died on the field in 1720-A.D. The two sections of the Marathas had fought in the battle on both the sides.

Since long I entertained a desire to visit the town of Balapur for historical research. A friend of mine recently informed me about the collection of the Persian and Arabic manuscripts in possession of the old mohomedan family at Balapur. On my request K. N. Nagarkatti, Esq. I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Akola very kindly introduced me to Moulvi Syed Imamul Islam Nakshabandi Jagirdar of Wagrool who possesses this collection at his residence at Balapur. The D. C. had directed Mr. Wankhede, Tahsildar of Balapur to help me in the matter and also permitted Mr. D. B. Mahajan, Supdt. of Land Records, to accompany me at the place. I may note here that Mr. Mahajan is a co-worker with me in the research in the field of history and archaeology. On appointment we had visited Balapur on the 22nd and 23rd of September 1940.

Moulavi Syed Imamul Islam Nakshabandi was very kind to receive us and he took us round to the Masjid, the Khankah of his own family and showed us several relics of the past. He also took us to the library of the manuscripts and valuable and rare printed books.

It would not be out of place to record in brief, the history of the Nakshabandi family before I give my brief note on Khankah and the library. The history of the family is based on Tarikh e Avaliya Deccan and Berar printed in 1332 H. in Hyderabad. It was Moulana Syed Inayatulla who first left his native place Khujand in Bhukhara with his son Syed Manibulla and other family and made his residence in India at Aminabad near Lahore. From Aminabad the family shifted to Barhanpur where Syed Inayatulla met Sk. Mujaffar Sufi Nakshabandi. Nakshabandi, Kadri, Chishti, and Suhravardi are the principal four sects in Mohomedanism. Syed Inayatulla died in 1177 H. and Syed Munibulla in 1119 at Burhanpur. It was Moulavi

Syed Zahiruddin Nakshabandi, the eldest son of Syed Munibulla, to leave Burhanpur and make Balapur his permanent place of residence. Burhanpur has not been finally left by the family and it had connection with it for many generations. Moulana Syed Zahiruddin came to Balapur in the last day of the reign of Aurangzeb. He made it a centre of his religious authorities and died there in 1141 H. He was buried at Balapur to the South of his residence in the village of Kasarkhed on the river to the other side of the fort. Syed Zahiruddin was succeeded by Syed Majijuddin Masum his brother as religious head. During his regime, the Masjid and the Khankah were built in 1150 H. as the inscrpition there records. It was in 1166 H. and 1167 H. that the villages Rasulpur and Palsi were granted to him as Jagir by Nizamuddin Asofjah for the up keep of the Khankah and feeding of the Fakirs. Moulana Syed Shah Md. Masum died in 1198 H; and was buried in the Khankah by the side of Syed Zahiruddin. Moualna Syed Kamaruddin, second son of Manibulla, died in 1193. It was probably he who made the beginning of the collection of the manuscript. His son Syed Nurul Ilahi who was born in 1153 H., had initiated Syed Khalilulla, son of Syed Kalimulla and grand son of Syed Shah Md. Masum, in these books, then the collection was at Balapur. Syed Khalilulla died in 1222 H. Syed Narul Mustafi succeeded his brother Narul Ali in 1203 H. He had visited Poona to meet the wife of Ali Bahadar son of the Peshwa Bajirao by Mastani. Syed Nurul Mustafi died in 1230 H. Syed Md. Masum Masnai son of Syed Khalilulla had taken part in the Hindu Muslim riot at Akola in 1260 H. It was a regular battle when nearly 10,000 mohomedans from the province had gathered. It was he who got, in exchange, the present Jagir villages in the Aurangabad Subah in 1283 H. He died in 1297 and was buried in the Khankah. His son was Moulavi Syed Mumtajabuddin the grand father of Moulavi Syed Imamul Islam the present Nakshbandi Jagirdar.

The credit is due to Moulana Syed Mohomad, father of the present Moulavi, to bring the library to the present condition. In fact all the representatives of the family at different period were erudite and known for their learning and the present importance is due to their co-operation. Maulavi Syed Imamul Islam Nakshabandi the present learned Sajjada nashin of the Khankah and Jagirdar is also able representative of the family and knows the value af the library and spares no pains in preserving it in order.

As for the Masjid and Khankah for which the Jagirs six or seven villages are granted, I have practically nothing to add except that the buildings are kept clean and in perfect repairs. My attention was drawn to Naksha Kuran which is constructed in lime and mortar in the yard of the Masjid. It is told that water made to run through this geometrical diagram is given to a woman in pains for easy delivery. The Khankah contains the tombs of all the past members of the Nakshabandi, the principal tomb being that of Moulana Syed Zahiruddin.

Besides the Nakshabandi family there is another family of a Kadri which also enjoys a Jagir for the up-keep of the tombs and Urs of a pir. The Deshmukh and Deshpandia families of the place receive largest amount of Rusum as political pension for the past services as perganah officers. They trace their family at Balapur even before the Moghal period. I expected to find at Balapur record of the various period but could not as yet trace it. I had however to satisfy myself with the inspection of the manuscript records which I could do during my short stay at the place.

The library was kept in good order. I could not get a list of the manuscripts and printed books, in fact no such list or a catalogue appears to have been prepared.

It was not therefore possible for me, during my short stay there, to form the correct idea of the nature and value of the manuscripts deposited there. I had to depend upon whatever manuscripts and printed books were brought to my notice by the Maulavi Sahib while I was there. From what I inspected, I can confidently state that it would be worth the trouble to prepare a detailed catalogue of the manuscripts and the rare printed books by an experienced scholar of Persian and Arabic. Such catalogue will help the scholars to make use of the library.

I now note the works which were brought to my notice, just to give an idea of the collection.

There were nearly 1,000 or 1,200 manuscripts in addition to the printed books, some of which are valuable, out of print and hence rare.

A copy of Shah nama with the best caligraphy illustrated with water colour pictures noted to have been scribed in 907 H.

Four copies of Kuran Sharif in various sizes, scribed in golden ink. One copy noted to be scribed in 957 H. Another copy in golden ink scribed in 641 H. Another copy in big size and in bold letters without date. It contains the text in the middle and four comentaries round it, three in Arabic and the one in Persian. One copy of the Kuran Sharif is alleged to be scribed in 479 H.

As the Moulavi Sahib stated, these are among others works on ilme Fika, ilme Kadi, ilme Tiba and ilme Tafasil. There are, as he stated, works on grammar, dictionary and even on history.

A copy of Divana Hafiz is noted to have been scribed in 1001 H.

Out of the printed books, I found (1) Ahad Namjat and Akrar Namjat and Sanads Sarkar Company Angriz Bahadur Malika majama Shahen Shah Inglistan and Hindustan in seven volumes printed in 1866 A.D. in Naval Kishore Press, Lucknow. (2) Malcom's History of India in Persian printed in 1872 A.D. in the Govt. of India press; Taskare Avaliya-e-Deccan and Berar printed in Hyderabad in 1332 H.

There is a large collection of hand sketches and pictures of renowned religionists, noblemen, Kings and scholars. I noted some of them as follows :—Hafiz Shiraz, Shah Salim Chishti (tomb at Delhi), Shahen Shah Hazrat Kazi Mohiuddin Chishti (Ajmer Pir), King Haroon, Syed Ahmed Kabir, Nasiruddin Chishti (Chirage Delhi), Bahlol Dana, Sk. Gulam Mohemed, Hazrat Sale Barbari, Khaja Nasiruddin (Cherage Delhi), Mulla Nizam Ganjavi and several others.

To my notice were brought two objects of antiquity which were held sacred and venerated. They are the Moi Mubarak (sacred hair) of the Hazrat Mohomed Sahib and Moi Mubarak of Hazrat Mohe buba Subhani (Sk. Abdul Kadar Zilani). These objects were locked in two separate wooden cabinets specially prepared for the purpose. The objects were exposed for reverance only once a year, the first on the 11th day of Rubiulaval and the 2nd on the 10th day of Rabiussani.

I must thank the Moulavi Sahib for the pains he took during my stay there, he had to postpone his tour to his Jagir villages in the Nizam's state to keep the engagement with me. I may mention that through the introduction from Mr. Nagarkatti the D. C. of Akola my work was facilitated. My thanks are due to Mr. Wankhede, Tahsildar of Balapur and specially to Mr. D. B. Mahajan S. L. R. of Akola for accompanying and helping me in this visit.

In conclusion, I note that it is in the interest of literature and history to preserve the valuable collection of the Persian and Arabic manuscripts. Some of the volumes urgently require strong rebinding. In order to make the manuscripts and the printed books available for scholar, a detailed catalogue of the works in the library should be prepared at an early date. This is possible only if the Local Government undertakes the work through the educational department. The work of cataloguing could conveniently be done if any professor of the Government College who is scholar in Arabic and Persian and who has got liking and experience of the work is deputed for a month or two. Provided no such scholar is available, the work may be entrusted to any institute which can complete it with the co-operation of the Moulavi Sahib. I would draw the attention of the Nagpur University to this matter. The question of opening a branch of manuscripts in the University library is under consideration. It is in the interest of the University also to give facilities to its research scholars by making private manuscript libraries available to them by compiling their catalogues and publishing them. Non-official private research societies are equally interested in such work and they will willingly co-operate with those who undertake the work in hand.

Y. K. DESHPANDE.

YEOTMAL;
The 3rd November 1940.

APPENDIX J.

A note on the Athalye collection at Shiposhi, District Ratnagiri, Bombay Province.

By Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A.

The late Mr. S. V. Athalye, B.A., was known to be a critical scholar of Maratha history even from his few and infrequent writings. It was also known that he had collected, copied and kept ready for the press a large number of original documents bearing on the Maratha history. It was the sole ambition of his life to bring out this collection with his explanatory notes. Had it been fulfilled many obscure or debatable points would have been cleared and set at rest—such was his close study and penetrating wisdom. Unfortunately that has been now relegated to the region of might have been. However the copies, about the accuracy and authenticity of which there cannot be the least doubt, remain intact and now can be made available to any scholar, a body of scholars or a government department.

The number of those papers is about 1,500. Out of these nearly 325 papers are from the family record of the descendants of Nandalal Mandoloi of Indore, who introduced the Marathas in Malwa. It was due to the enterprise, perseverance and influence of the late Mr. Athalye that these copies have been obtained. They range from 1693 to 1819 and are indispensable for any history of the country. Since then eminent scholars even like Sir Jadunath Sarkar have in vain tried to obtain a glimpse of these records, a few not entirely trustworthy papers from which have been published in histories.

Over and above this notable record there are a number of letters of Nana Farnavis, which have been in the safe keeping of the late Mr. Athalye. The rest of the papers are from various well-known persons in the history of the Marathas. As some of those might have been published already, and a few are translations or copies of published works, some scholars, or a body of them will have to critically examine the whole record, an authentic list of which is now available. The attention of this commission in the interests of history is invited to this valuable collection of records.

A list of the historical documents found in the collection of Late Sri Krishna Vithal or Bhayya Saheb Athalye, B.A. (Shiposhi, Ratnagiri).

1. History of Ibrahim Khan, 1757 to 1761 A.D.
2. The dates of the Holkars' death.
3. Forefathers of Nandalal Mandoloi, 1736 A.D.
4. A letter about the murder of Balaram Mandoloi, 1662 A.D.
5. Geneology of zamindars.
6. A letter to Nandalal, 1693 A.D.
7. A translation of Persian Sanads given to Mandoloi.

8. A sanad to Chudaman Mandoloi from Aurangzeb, 1678 A.D.
9. A letter to Chudaman, 1708 A.D.
10. A letter to Kunwar Tej Karan, 1718 A.D.
11. A letter to Kunwar Tej Karan from Rana of Badhwi, 1718 A.D.
12. A letter to Kunwar Tej Karan from Rana of Badhwai, 1718 A.D.
13. A letter to Nandalal from Malhar Rao Holkar, 1720 A.D.
14. Horoscope of Malhar Rao Holkar.
15. A letter to Nandalal from Malhar Rao.
16. The description of different seals of Malhar Rao.
17. A letter to Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur, 1722 A.D.
18. A letter to Nandalal from Malhar Rao, 1720 A.D.
19. A letter to Nandalal from Ringanod , 1722 A.D.
20. A letter to Nandalal from Rana of Badhwai, 1724 A.D.
*21. A letter to Nandalal from Arjunji Bhonsla, 1723 A.D.
22. Tarikh-i-Manazilul Futuh. (1760-61 A. D.).
23. Unpublished Persian History of Panipat.
24. Campaign of Panipat (Translation of Mr. Scott.).
25. Tarikh-i-Hind (History of India, 1741 to 42 A.D.).
26. A letter to Dhondoba from Sadashiv Chimnaji, 1744 A.D.
27. A letter to Dhondoba from Sadashiv Chimnaji, 1745 A.D.
28. A letter to Dada Saheb from Govinda Ballal, 1755 A.D.
29. A letter to Bhau Saheb from Antaji Mankeshwar, 1757 A.D.
30. A letter to the Peshwa from Antaji Mankeshwar, 1757 A.D.
31. A letter to Nana Saheb from Ragunath Rao, 1758 A.D.
32. A letter to Gopal Ganesh from Sadashiv Chimnaji, 1760 A.D.
33. A letter to Dhondo Malhar from Sadashiv Chimnaji, 1760 A.D.
34. A letter of Balawant Rao Mehendale, 1760 A.D.
35. A letter to Morobadada from Janardan Balaji, 1760 A.D.
36. Letters of Nana Farnavis about Panipat.
37. A letter of Nana Farnavis from Gwalior, 1761 A.D.
38. A letter to Dada Saheb from Vitthal Shivadev, 1761 A.D.
39. A letter to Kukaji Pant from Vinayak Baji Rao and Krishanaji Gangadhar, 1761 A.D.
40. A letter to Dada Saheb from Vinayak Baji Rao and Krishnaji Gangadhar, 1761 A.D.
41. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Balaji Govind, 1765 A.D.
42. Bakhar of Bhau Gardi (History of a revolt in the Holkar State in 1833-34) No. 1.

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* There are 300 copies of the original letters of the Mandoloi Daftar from 1693 to 1819 A.D. in the Athalye Collection.

43. Bakhar of Bhau Gardi (History of a revolt in the Holkar State in 1833-34), No. 2.
44. A letter to Nana Saheb from Mirja Shafi Khan, 1784 A.D.
45. A letter to Govind Hari from Parshuram Bhau, 1761 A.D.
46. An account of king Zamorin, 1498 A.D.
47. A letter of Indore Durbar, Revenue Department, 1904 A.D.
48. Four letters about Maratha achievements in Bundelkhand.
49. A letter to Morobadada from Balaji Janardana.
50. War between the Marathas and the Portuguese (Feringee-Portuguese).
51. A letter to Balaji and Gangadhar Govind, 1780 A.D.
52. A letter to Nana from Purushottam Mahadev, 1780 A.D.
53. A letter to Nana, 1780 A.D.
54. A letter to Pant Pradhan, 1780 A.D.
55. A letter to Pant Pradhan (The Peshwa).
56. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Purushottam Mahadev, 1780 A.D.
57. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Purushottam Mahadev, 1780 A.D.
58. A letter to Nana from Dev Rao Mahadev, 1780 A.D.
59. Kaifiyat or History of the Holkars c/o. S. G. Dravid.
60. Seven pages of the later part of the above printed in Kavyetihas Sangraha.
61. A letter to Nana from Trimbak Rao Vishwanath, 1751 A.D.
62. A letter to Nana from Ramchandra Ganesh, 1761 A.D.
63. A letter to Nana 1762 A.D.
64. A letter to Nana, 1762 A.D.
65. A letter to Nana, 1763 A.D.
66. A letter to Nana, 1763 A.D.
67. A letter to Nana, 1763 A.D.
68. A letter to Nana from Mahipat Rao Abaji, 1763 A.D.
69. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Baji Narsinh, 1763 A.D.
70. A letter to Trimbak Pant Nana from Mahadaji Shinde, 1763 A.D.
71. A letter to Ramchandra Damodar from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1764 A.D.
72. A letter to Nana and Aba from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1764 A.D.
73. A letter to Nana from Ragunath Rao, 1764 A.D.
74. A letter to Nana from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1764 A.D.
75. A letter to Trimbak Rao Nana from Mahadaji Shinde, 1765 A.D.
76. A letter to Baji Govind, 1770 A.D.
77. A letter to Pant Pradhan, 1771 A.D.
78. A letter to Pant Pradhan, 1772 A.D.
79. A letter to Pant Pradhan, 1772 A.D.
80. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Nagoji Shinde and Bapu Rao Krishna.
81. A letter to Srimant Bapu, 1779 A.D.

82. A letter to Mahipat Krishna from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1779 A.D.
83. A letter to Matushri Durgabai from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1779 A.D.
84. A letter to Chimnaji Govind Athavale from Mahadaji Shinde, 1785 A.D.
85. A letter to Hari Pant Phadke (Phatake), 1794 A.D.
86. A letter to Dhondo Sakharam, 1791 A.D.
87. A letter to Dinkar Nilkantha, 1799 A.D.
88. A letter to Naro Pant Nana from Ramchandra Shridhar Kale, 1799 A.D.
89. A letter to Baba Saheb from Ramchandra Shridhar Kale, 1799 A.D.
90. A letter to Naro Pant Nana from Bapuji Shinde, 1799 A.D.
91. A letter to Dhondo Ballal, 1799 A.D.
92. A letter to Rao Saheb Gosavi from Khande Rao Ghorpade, 1799 A.D.
93. A detailed account of Satara, 1799 A.D.
94. A letter to Pant Pradhan, 1799 A.D.
95. A letter to Trimbak Rao Mahipat Purandhare from Baji Rao Raghunath. 1801 A.D.
96. A letter to Nana, 1802 A.D.
97. A letter to Nana from Balwant Rao Appaji, 1802 A.D.
98. A letter to Baji Rao Pandit Pradhan, 1802 A.D.
99. A letter to Balaji Manekshwar, 1802 A.D.
100. A letter to Rao Saheb from Trimbak Sadashiv, 1802 A.D.
101. A sanad for Pargana Karada from Baji Rao Ballal.
102. A letter to Udaji Pawar from Baji Rao Ballal, 1722 A.D.
103. Persian Sanads from Baji Rao Ballal, 1722 A.D.
104. A letter to Baji Rao from Anand Rao Pawar, 1724 A.D.
105. A supplement to Anand Rao Pawar from Visaji Ganesh.
106. Treaty, Udaji Pawar, Gujrath—Malwa, 1726-27 A.D.
107. A letter to Anand Rao Pawar from Baji Rao Ballal, 1728 A.D.
108. Sanad for Pargana Sitamahu from Baji Rao Ballal, 1728 A.D.
109. Sanad for Pargna Durab from Baji Rao Ballal, 1728 A.D.
110. Sanad for Pargana Kachh from Baji Rao Ballal, 1728 A.D.
111. A letter to Subha Gujrath from Baji Rao Ballal, 1728 A.D.
112. A letter to Subha Ratlam from Baji Rao Ballal, 1728 A.D.
113. A letter to Malwa from Baji Rao Ballal, 1728 A.D.
114. A letter to Sihor, from Baji Rao Ballal, 1728 A.D.
115. A letter to Chhatri Amod from Baji Rao Ballal, 1728 A.D.
116. A letter to Saser, Subha Gujrath from Baji Rao Ballal, 1728 A.D.
117. A letter to Rama Singh Rana of Dongarpur from Baji Rao Balall.
118. A letter to Baji Rao Pradhan, 1728 A.D.
119. A letter to Pargana Jalgaon from Baji Rao Ballal, 1728 A.D.
120. A letter to Pargana Dhar from Baji Rao Ballal, 1728 A.D.

121. A letter of Baji Rao, 1729 A.D.
122. A Sanad for District Sironj from Baji Rao, 1729 A.D.
123. A letter to Anand Rao Pawar from Baji Rao Ballal, 1729 A.D.
124. A letter to Anand Rao Pawar from Baji Rao Ballal, 1729 A.D.
125. Sanad for Pargana Jainabad from Baji Rao Ballal, 1730 A.D.
126. A letter to Anand Rao Pawar from Baji Rao Ballal, 1731 A.D.
127. A letter to Anand Rao Pawar from Baji Rao Ballal, 1731 A.D.
128. A letter to Anand Rao Pawar from Baji Rao Ballal, 1732 A.D.
129. A letter to Pargana Dhar from Baji Rao Ballal, 1732 A.D.
130. A letter to Anand Rao Pawar from Shahu, 1732 A.D.
131. A letter to Pargana Dhar from Baji Rao Ballal, 1733 A.D.
132. A letter to Anand Rao Pawar from Chimnaji Damodar, 1733 A.D.
133. A letter of warning to Pargana Dhar, 1736 A.D.
134. A letter of warning to Pargana Gujrath, 1737 A.D.
135. A letter to Yeshwant Rao Pawar from Rayaji Pawar, 1744 A.D.
136. A letter to Gopal Sambhaji from Balaji Baji Rao, 1761 A.D.
137. A letter to Khande Rao Pawar from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1761 A.D.
138. A letter to Pargana Kirwad, 1761 A.D.
139. A letter to Pargana Dhar, 1761 A.D.
140. A letter to Khande Rao Pawar from Raghunath Baji Rao, 1762 A.D.
141. A letter of warning to Pargana Dhar, 1776 A.D.
142. An announcement about King Shahu's coronation ceremony.
143. A legend about Yeshwant Rao Pawar.
144. Robes of honour to Yeshwant Rao and Sayaji Rao Pawar.
145. A letter to Jiwau Shinde from Baji Rao Ballal.
146. A letter to Dada Saheb from Jankoji Shinde, 1755 A.D.
147. A letter to Anand Rao Dhulap from Madhav Rao Narayan, 1783 A.D.
148. A letter to Nana from Parashram Ramchandra, 1792 A.D.
149. A letter to Yeshwant Gangadhar from Ahilya Bai, 1776 A.D.
150. A letter to Balaji Narayan Kamavisdar from Ahilya Bai, 1739 A.D.
151. A letter to Santaji Wagh from Sadashiv Bhat Puranik, 1741 A.D.
152. A letter to Vitthal Tandev from Santaji Wagh, 1741 A.D.
153. A letter to Kamavisdar from Sakhu Bai Shinde, 1768 A.D.
154. A letter to Pargana Pedalabad from Mahadaji Shinde, 1768 A.D.
155. A letter to Krishna Bhat Shastri Kanitkar from Mahadaji Shinde, 1768 A.D.
156. A letter to Appaji Kadam from Mahadaji Shinde, 1774 A.D.
157. A letter to Bapuji Pant to Ramchandra Malhar, 1772 A.D.
158. A letter to Purushottam Pant from Ramaji Malhar, 1754 A.D.
159. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Damodar Madadev, 1750 A.D.
160. A letter to Damodar Pant Dada from Lakshuman Shankar, 1757 A.D.

161. A letter to Damodar Pant Dada from Lakshuman Shankar, 1751 A.D.
162. A letter to Damodar Pant from Srimant (His Highness), 1751 A.D.
163. A letter to Damodar Pant from Gangadhar Yeshwant, 1751 A.D.
164. A letter to Damodar Pant from Gangadhar Yeshwant, 1751 A.D.
165. A letter to Dada from Purushottam, 1752 A.D.
166. A letter to Vasudev Dikshit from Balaji Baji Rao, 1753 A.D.
167. A letter to Damodar Mahadev from Kanojkar Navadi, 1753 A.D.
168. A letter to Banaji Uddhava from Govind Rao Bule, 1754 A.D.
169. A letter to Dada from Govind Ballal, 1756 A.D.
170. A letter to Bapu from Damodar, 1756 A.D.
171. A letter to Bhau Sahib from Antaji Mankeshwar , 1757 A.D.
172. A letter to Damodar Mahadev from Raghunath Baji Rao, 1757 A.D.
173. A letter to Srimanta Tatya Saheb, 1757 A.D.
174. A letter to Raghunath Naik Nawale from Lakshman Jamdar.
175. A list from Bapuji Mahadev vakil.
176. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Purushottam Mahadev, 1758 A.D.
177. A letter from Sevak Dev Rao Damodar, 1758 A.D.
178. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Krishnaji Bhikaji, 1764 A.D.
179. A letter to Ragho Mahadev Wok from Bapuji Mahadev, 1760 A.D.
180. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Purushottam Mahadev, 1762 A.D.
181. A letter to Vitthal Shiv Dev 1762 A. D.
182. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Bapuji and Purushottam Mahadev.
183. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Purushottam Mahadev, 1762 A.D.
184. A letter to Vitthal Shiv Dev from Raghunath Baji Rao 1762 A.D.
185. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Dev Rao Mahadev 1762 A.D.
186. A letter to Vitthal Rao Umdat-ul-Mulk from Raghunath Rao, 1762 A.D.
187. A letter to Dharma Rao and Balaji Rao from Gopal Rao Venkat Rao, 1763 A.D.
188. A letter to Purushottam Mahadev from Raghunath Rao, 1762 A.D.
189. A letter to Naro Shankar, Raje Bahadur from Madhav Rao (after 1761 A.D.).
190. A letter to Raghunath Harbaji Nawale from Bapuji Mahadev, 1763 A.D.
191. A letter to Naro Shankar from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1763 A.D.
192. A letter to Krishnaji Jiwaji from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1763 A.D.
193. A letter to Kedarji and Mahadaji Shinde from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1763 A.D.
194. A letter to Purushottam Pant from Balaji Janardan, 1764 A.D.
195. A letter to Krishna Rao Bapuji from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1764 A.D.
196. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Purushottam Mahadev, 1764 A.D.
197. A letter to Babu Rao Kaka from Balaji Govind, 1765 A.D.
198. A letter to Gopal Raoji Dada from Purushottam Mahadev, 1765 A.D.

199. A letter to Lakshman Pant Bhau from Purushottam Mahadev, 1765 A.D.
200. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Balaji Govind, 1766 A.D.
201. A letter to Nana Saheb from Bapuji Mahadev, 1766 A.D.
202. A letter to Vitthal Rao Shiv Dev from Madhav Rao, 1766 A.D.
203. A letter to Nana Saheb from Khando Trimbak, 1766 A. D.
204. A letter to Vitthal Shiv Dev from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1766 A.D.
205. A letter to Purushottam Pant from Sakharam Bhagwant, 1766 A.D.
206. A letter to Nana Saheb from Purushottam Mahadev, 1766 A.D.
207. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Purushottam Mahadev, 1766 A.D.
208. A letter to Tatya and Baba Saheb from Purushottam Mahadev, 1766 A.D.
209. A letter to Vitthal Shiv Dev from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1766 A.D.
210. A letter to Nana Saheb from Khando Trimbak ,1766 A.D.
211. A letter to Vitthal Shiv Dev from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1766 A.D.
212. A letter to the Kamavisdar of Ujjain from Kedarji Shinde, 1767 A.D.
213. A letter to Trimbak Raoji from Raghunath Hari, 1767 A.D.
214. A letter to Vitthal Shiv Dev from Madhav Rao, 1767 A.D.
215. A letter to Bapu from Sakharam Bhagwant, 1767 A.D.
216. A letter to Malhar Rao Krishna, 1767 A.D.
217. A letter to Shivaji Vitthal from Madhav Rao, 1767 A.D.
218. A letter to Trimbak Rao of Ringangao from Raghunath Rao, 1767 A.D.
219. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Purshottam Mahadev, 1768 A.D.
220. Orders to Ramchandra Ganesh from Pant Pradhan, 1768 A.D.
221. Lists.
222. A letter to Nana Saheb (in Hindi), 1768 A.D.
223. A letter to Ganesh Bhat Hardikar from Vitthal Krishna, 1768 A.D.
224. A letter to Ganesh Bhat Hardikar from Visaji, 1769 A.D.
225. A letter to Shankaraji Keshav from Vitthal Krishna, 1769 A.D.
226. A letter to Ramchandra Ganesh and Visaji Krishna from Madhav Rao 1769 A.D.
227. A letter to Ramchandra Ganesh and Visaji Krishna from Madhav Rao, 1769 A.D.
228. A letter to Tukoji Holkar from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1769 A.D.
229. A letter to Ramchandra Ganesh and Visaji Krishna from Madhav Rao, 1769 A.D.
230. A letter to Ramchandra Ganesh and Visaji Krishna from Madhav Rao, 1769 A.D.
231. A letter to Gangadhar Govind from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1769 A.D.
232. A letter to Baba Dikshit from Khando Argade, 1769 A.D.
233. A letter to Baba Dikshit from Khando Argade, 1769 A.D.
234. A letter to Baba Dikshit from Khando Argade, 1770 A.D.

235. A letter to Purushottam Pant from Ramchandra Ganesh and Visaji Krishna, 1770 A.D.
236. A letter to Purushottam Pant from Ramchandra Ganesh and Visaji Krishna, 1770 A.D.
237. A letter to Purushottam Pant from Ramchandra Ganesh and Visaj Krishna, 1770 A.D.
238. A letter to Purushottam Pant from Ramchandra Ganesh and Visaji Krishna, 1770 A.D.
239. A letter to Baba and Govind Dikshit from Khandoji Argade, 1770 A.D.
240. A letter to Balaji Govind from Madhav Ballal, 1770 A.D.
241. A letter to Pant Pradhan, 1770 A.D.
242. A memorandum to Pant Pradhan, 1770 A.D.
243. A letter to Srimant Nana, 1770 A.D.
244. A Supplement.
245. A letter to His Highness Srimant, 1770 A.D.
246. A letter to Srimant Dada, 1770 A.D.
247. A Note, 1770 A.D.
248. A letter to Nana Saheb, 1770 A.D.
249. A Supplement.
250. A letter to Pargana Koteh from Tukoji Holkar, 1770 A.D.
251. A letter to Mahadaji Shinde, 1770 A.D.
252. A letter to Damodar Pant from Balaji Govind, 1770 A.D.
253. A letter to Purushottam Mahadev from Madhav Ballal, 1770 A.D.
254. A letter to Ramchandra Ganesh and Visaji Krishna, 1770 A.D.
255. A letter to Narayan Ballal from Madhav Ballal, 1771 A.D.
256. A letter to Visaji Krishna from Madhav Ballal, 1771 A.D.
257. A letter to Damodar Pant from Balaji Govind, 1771 A.D.
258. A letter to Purushottam Mahadev from Tukoji Holkar, 1771 A.D.
259. A letter to Visaji Krishna, 1771 A.D.
260. A letter to Nana Saheb from Ram Rao Kashi, 1771 A.D.
261. A letter to Nana Saheb from Bapu Rao, 1772 A.D.
262. A letter to Bapu Saheb from Purushottam Mahadev, 1772 A.D.
263. A letter to Visaji Krishna from Madhav Rao, 1772 A.D.
264. A letter to Purushottam Mahadev from Mahadaji Shinde, 1772 A.D.
265. A letter to Raghunath Raoji from Purushottam Mahadev, 1772 A.D.
266. A letter to Dev Rao Mahadev from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1772 A.D.
267. A Sanad to Dev Rao Mahadev from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1772 A.D.
268. A letter to Visaji Krishna from Narayan Ballal, 1772 A.D.
269. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Purushottam Mahadev, 1772 A.D.
270. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Bhawani Shankar Janardan, 1772 A.D.
271. A letter to Nana Saheb from Baji Rao, 1772 A.D.

272. A letter to Nana Saheb from Baloba, 1772 A.D.
273. A letter to Purshottam Mahadev from Tukoji Holkar, 1772 A.D.
274. A letter to Balkrishna Mama from Purushottam Mahadev, 1772 A.D.
275. A letter of Purushottam Mahadev, 1772 A.D.
276. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Purushottam Mahadev, 1773 A.D.
277. Manual of rules. (Half), 1773 A.D.
278. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Baloba, 1773 A.D.
279. A letter to Pant Pradhan, 1773 A.D.
280. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Baloba, 1773 A.D.
281. A letter of Purushottam Mahadev (Half torn), 1773 A.D.
282. A letter to Baijo Pant from Purushottam Mahadev, 1773 A.D.
283. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Purushottam Mahadev, 1773 A.D.
284. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Purushottam Mahadev, 1773 A.D.
285. A letter to Dado Pant Dada from Chinto Vitthal, 1773 A.D.
286. A letter to Bapu Saheb from Purushottam Mahadev, 1773 A.D.
287. A letter to Dev Rao from Ahilya Bai Holkar, 1774 A.D.
288. A letter of Purushottam Mahadev (torn), 1774 A.D.
289. A letter to Appaji Rao from Raghunath Baji Rao ,1761 A.D.
290. A letter to Appaji Rao from Tukoji Holkar, 1775 A.D.
291. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana Farnavis, 1775 A.D.
292. A letter to Purushottam and Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1775 A.D.
293. A letter to Purushottam and Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1775 A.D.
294. A letter to Mahadaji Shinde from Madhav Ballal, 1775 A.D.
295. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Shivaji Vitthal, 1775 A.D.
296. A letter to Pant Pradhan, 1775 A.D.
297. A letter to Dev Rao, 1775 A.D.
298. A letter to Purushottam and Dev Rao from Ahilya Bai Holkar, 1775 A.D.
299. A letter to Bapuji Pant from Rane Khan Bhai, 1776 A.D.
300. A letter to Nathupuri Gosavi from Ahilya Bai, 1776 A.D.
301. A letter to Ahilya Bai from Purushottam Mahadev, 1776 A.D.
302. A torn letter, 1776 A.D.
303. A letter to Lalaji Ballal from Mahadaji Shinde, 1776 A.D.
304. A letter to Tatya Swami from Govind Bhatji Nijsure, 1776 A.D.
305. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1776 A.D.
306. A letter to Mahadaji Shinde from Nana Farnavis, 1776 A.D.
307. An agreement of Patil Baba, 1776 A.D.
308. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Purushottam Mahadev, 1776 A.D.
309. A Supplement (Half) to Purushottam Mahadev, 1776 A.D.
310. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1776 A.D.
311. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1776 A.D.

312. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1776 A.D.
313. A letter to Dev Rao from Hari Ballal, 1776 A.D.
314. A letter to Dev Rao from Mahadaji Shinde , 1776 A.D.
315. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Govind Nijsurey, 1776 A.D.
316. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Purushottam Mahadev, 1776 A.D.
317. A letter to Danapa Shikenis from Mahadaji Shinde, 1776 A.D.
318. A letter from Purushottam Mahadev (damaged), 1776 A.D.
319. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana Farnavis, 1779 A.D.
320. A letter to Purushottam Mahadev from Bapuji Holkar, 1779 A.D.
321. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Purushottam Mahadev, 1777 A.D.
322. A letter to Aba Saheb from Purushottam Mahadev, 1777 A.D.
323. A letter to Pant Pratinidhi, 1777 A.D.
324. A letter to Dev Rao Tatya Hingane from Mahadaji Shinde, 1777 A.D.
325. A letter to Mahadaji Shinde from Madhav Ballal, 1777 A.D.
326. A letter to Mahadaji Shinde from Madhav Ballal, 1777 A.D.
327. A letter to Pargana Bundelkhand from Hanmant Rao Harahar, 1777 A.D.
328. A letter to Nana Furnavis from Anandi Bai, 1777 A.D.
329. A letter to Anandi Bai from Nana Farnavis, 1777 A.D.
330. A letter to Nana Farnavis from Anandi Bai, 1777 A.D.
331. A letter to Dev Rao Hingane from Govind Bhat Nijsurey, 1777 A.D.
332. A letter to Dev Rao Mahadev from Nana, 1777 A.D.
333. A letter to Dev Rao, 1777 A.D.
334. A letter to Dev Rao Hingane from a Karkun.
335. A letter to Dev Rao Hingane from a Karkun, 1777 A.D.
336. A letter to Anandi Bai from Nana Farnavis.
337. A letter to Balaji Janardan from Anandi Bai, 1777 A.D.
338. A letter to Balaji Janardan from Anandi Bai, 1777 A.D.
339. A letter to Tatya Saheb, 1778 A.D.
340. A letter to Patil Baba from Purushottam Mahadev, 1779 A.D.
341. A letter to Danappa Shikenis from Mahadaji Shinde, 1779 A.D.
342. A letter to Dev Raj from Nana Farnavis, 1782 A.D.
343. Code questions from Shinde, 1780 A.D.
344. Fragment of a letter from Purushottam Mahadev, 1781 A.D.
345. A letter of Tukoji Holkar, 1781 A.D.
346. A letter to Mahadaji Shinde from Purushottam Mahadev, 1781 A.D.
347. A letter to Purushottam Pant from Balaji Janardan, 1781 A.D.
348. A letter to Pant Prdahan from Purushottam Mahadev, 1781 A.D.
349. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Purushottam Mahadev, 1781 A.D.
350. A letter to Patil Saheb from Dev Rao Mahadev, 1781 A.D.
351. A letter to Purushottam Pant from Nana Farnavis, 1781 A.D.
352. A letter to Purushottam Pant from Nana Farnavis, 1781 A.D.

353. A letter to Purushottam Pant from Nana Farnavis, 1781 A.D.
354. A letter to Purushottam Pant from Balaji Janardan, 1781 A.D.
355. A letter to Dev Rao Mahadev from Tukoji Holkar, 1782 A.D.
356. A letter to Dev Rao Mahadev from Govind Bhat Nijsure, 1782 A.D.
357. A letter to Dev Rao Mahadev from Mahadaji Shinde, 1782 A.D.
358. A letter to Dev Rao Mahadev from Nana Farnavis, 1782 A.D.
359. A letter to Dev Rao Mahadev from Nana Farnavis, 1782 A.D.
360. A letter to Dev Rao Mahadev from Tukoji Holkar, 1782 A.D.
361. A letter to Dev Rao Mahadev from Tukoji Holkar, 1782 A.D.
362. A letter to Govind Swami from Balaji Janardan, 1782 A.D.
363. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana, 1782 A.D.
364. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana, 1782 A.D.
365. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana, 1782 A.D.
366. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana, 1782 A.D.
367. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana, 1782 A.D.
368. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana, 1782 A.D.
369. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1782 A.D.
370. A letter to Gulam Muhammad Khan from Nana, 1782 A.D.
371. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1782 A.D.
372. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana, 1782 A.D.
373. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana, 1782 A.D.
374. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana, 1782 A.D.
375. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana, 1782 A.D.
376. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana, 1782 A.D.
377. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana, 1782 A.D.
378. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1783 A.D.
379. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1783 A.D.
380. A letter to Goardhan Baba Puri ' Mahanta ' from Mahadaji, Shinde, 1783 A.D.
381. A letter to Dev Rao from Govind Bhat Nijsurey, 1783 A.D.
382. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1783 A.D.
383. A letter to Kamavisdar from Mahadaji Shinde, 1783 A.D.
384. A letter to Patil Baba from Baloji, 1783 A.D.
385. A note from Dev Rao Mahadev Vakil, 1783 A.D.
386. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1783 A.D.
387. A letter to Yesaji Murkute (Bhuskute) from Tukoji Holkar, 1783 A.D
388. A letter to Appaji Rao from Dev Rao (Half torn), 1783 A.D.
389. A letter to Patil Baba, 1784 A.D.
390. A memorandum to Govind Purushottam, 1784 A.D
391. A letter to Dev Rao from Tukoji Holkar, 1785 A.D.
392. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Govind Rao, 1785 A.D.

393. A letter to Mahadaji Shinde from Madhav Ballal, 1786 A.D.
394. A lett r to Mahadaji Shinde from Madhav Ballal, 1786 A.D.
395. A letter to Mahadaji Shinde from Balaji Janardan, 1786 A.D.
396. A letter to Balaji Govind from Madhav Rao Narayan, 1786 A.D.
397. A letter to Dev Rao Mahadev from Damodar Dev Rao, 1786 A.
398. A letter to Mahadaji Shinde from Madhav Rao Narayan, 1786 A.D.
399. A letter to Raghunath Hari from Mahadaji Shinde, 1786 A.D.
400. A letter to Khande Rao Hari from Mahadaji Shinde, 1786 A.D.
401. A letter to Tatya Shaeb from Rang Rao Trimbak, 1786 A.D.
402. A letter to Damodar Rao and Anna Saheb from Dev Rao Mahadev, 1787 A.D.
403. A letter to Balaji Pant Nana from Tukoji Holkar, 1787 A.D.
404. A letter to Dev Rao Mahadev from Tukoji Holkar, 1788 A.D.
405. A letter to Dev Rao Mahadev from Balaji Janardan, 1788 A.D.
406. A letter to Dev Rao, 1788 A.D.
407. A letter to Dev Rao from Mahadaji Shinde, 1788 A.D.
408. A letter to Damodar Rao from Appaji Rao, 1788 A.D.
409. A letter to Mahipat Krishna from Madhav Narayan, 1788 A.D.
410. A letter to Rao Saheb from Mahipat Rao Krsihna, 1788 A.D.
411. A letter to Rao Saheb from Mahipat Rao Krishna, 1788 A.D.
412. A letter to Durga Bai Tai Saheb from Madhav Rao, 1789 A.D.
413. A letter to Dev Rao Mahadev from Mahadaji Shinde, 1789 A.D.
414. A letter to Bala Saheb and Anna Saheb from Dev Rao Mahadev, 1789 A.D.
415. A letter to Bai Saheb from Ram Rao Appaji, 1790 A.D.
416. A letter to Bai Saheb from Ram Rao Appaji, 1790 A.D.
417. A letter to Bai Saheb from Ram Rao Appaji, 1794 A.D.
418. A letter to Srimant.
419. A letter to Patil Saheb from Dev Rao Mahadev, 1790 A.D.
420. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Gangadhar Ballal Wok, 1790 A.D.
421. A letter to Pant Pradhan, 1791 A.D.
422. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Gangadhar Shiv Ram, 1791 A.D.
423. A letter to Pant Pradhan, 1791 A.D.
424. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Raja Ram Vitthal, 1792 A.D.
425. A List from Damodar Dev Rao, 1793 A.D.
426. A List from Damodar Dev Rao, 1793 A.D.
427. A letter to Omkar Mal and Sardar Mal from Mahadaji Shinde, 1793 A.D.
428. A letter to Dev Rao from Tukoji Holkar, 1793 A.D.
429. A letter to Dev Rao from Tukoji Holkar, 1793 A.D.
430. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1793 A.D.
431. A list from Tukoji Holkar, 1793 A.D.
432. A Supplement to Dev Rao from Nana.

433. A letter to Tukoji Holkar from Balaji Janardan, 1793 A.D.
434. A letter to Dev Rao Mahadev from Ahilya Bai Holkar, 1793 A.D.
435. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Dev Rao Mahadev, 1793 A.D.
436. A letter to Dev Rao Mahadev from Ahilya Bai, 1793 A.D.
437. A letter to Dev Rao Mahadev from Hari Ballal, 1794 A.D.
438. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Balaji Atmaram, 1794 A.D.
439. A letter to Khando Babu Rao from Tukoji Holkar, 1794 A.D.
440. A letter to Dev Rao from Ahilya Bai, 1794 A.D.
441. A letter to Dev Rao from Ahilya Bai, 1794 A.D.
442. A letter to Dev Rao from Ahilya Bai, 1794 A.D.
443. A letter to Balaji Pant Nana from Tukoji Holkar, 1794 A.D.
444. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
445. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan , 1794 A.D.
446. A letter to Dev Rao from Hari Ballal, 1794 A.D.
447. A letter to Hari Pant from Ahilya Bai, 1794 A.D.
448. A letter to Balaji Pant Nana from Tukoji Holkar, 1794 A.D.
449. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
450. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
451. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
452. A letter to Dev Rao from Hari Ballal, 1794 A.D.
453. A letter to Pant Pradhan from Dev Rao, 1794 A.D.
454. A letter to Tukoji Holkar from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
455. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
456. A letter to Dev Rao from Hari Ballal, 1794 A.D.
457. A letter to Balaji Pant from Tukoji Holkar, 1794 A.D.
458. A letter to Dev Rao from Yeshwant Rao Gangadhar, 1794 A.D.
459. A letter to Tukoji Holkar from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
460. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
461. A letter to Tukoji Holkar from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
462. A letter to Tukoji Holkar from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
463. A letter to Tukoji Holkar from Madhav Rao Narayan, 1794 A.D
464. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana, 1794 A.D.
465. A letter to Dev Rao.
466. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D
467. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana, 1794 A.D.
468. A letter to Tukoji Holkar from Madhav Narayan, 1794 A.D.
469. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana, 1794 A.D.
470. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
471. A letter to Ahilya Bai from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
472. A letter to Tukoji Holkar from Ahilya Bai, 1794 A.D.

473. A letter to Tukoji Holkar from Madhav Rao Narayan, 1794 A.D.
474. A letter to Dev Rao Mahadev, 1794 A.D.
475. A letter to Nana from Dev Rao Mahadev, 1794 A.D.
476. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
477. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
478. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
479. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
480. A letter to Balaji Pant Nana from Ahilya Bai, 1794 A.D.
481. A letter to Dev Rao from Ahilya Bai, 1794 A.D.
482. A letter to Dev Rao from Ahilya Bai, 1794 A.D.
483. A letter to Dev Rao from Ahilya Bai, 1794 A.D.
484. A letter to Dev Rao from Nana Farnavis, 1794 A.D.
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486. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
487. A letter to Dev Rao from Ahilya Bai, 1794 A.D.
488. A letter to Balaji Pant from Tukoji Holkar, 1794 A.D.
489. A letter to Dev Rao from Ahilya Bai, 1794 A.D.
490. A letter to the Nizam Government from Tukoji Holkar, 1794 A.D.
491. A letter to Yeshwant Rao Gangadhar from Tukoji Holkar, 1794 A.D.
492. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Bapu Bhat Bhanavas, 1794 A.D.
493. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
494. A letter to Tukoji Holkar from Balaji Janardan, 1794 A.D.
495. A letter to Dev Rao from Tukoji Holkar, 1794 A.D.
496. A memorandum from Subhedar, 1794 A.D.
497. A letter to Balaji Pant from Tukoji Holkar, 1795 A.D.
498. A letter to Dev Rao from Ahilya Bai, 1795 A.D.
499. A letter to Dev Rao from Ahilya Bai 1795 A.D.
500. A letter to Balaji Pant from Ahilya Bai, 1795 A.D.
501. A letter to Dev Rao from Ahilya Bai, 1795 A.D.
502. A letter to Bai Saheb from Ayaji Mahadev, 1795 A.D.
503. A letter to Bai Saheb from Ram Rao Ayaji , 1795 A.D.
504. A letter to Dev Rao from Tukoji Holkar, 1795 A.D.
505. A letter to Dev Rao from Ahilya Bai, 1795 A.D.
506. A letter to Dev Rao from Ahilya Bai, 1795 A.D.
507. A letter to Dev Rao from Ahilya Bai, 1795 A.D.
508. A letter for Pargana ' Ambad ' from Tukoji Holkar, 1795 A.D.
509. A letter to Daulat Rao Shinde from Madhav Rao Ballal, 1795 A.D.
510. A letter to Dadaji Gosawi from Kashirao Holkar, 1795 A.D.
511. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Govind Rao and Damodar Rao, 1795 A.D.
512. A letter to Tatya Saheb, 1795 A.D.
513. A letter to Pant Pradhan, 1795 A.D.

514. A letter to Baba Saheb from Govind Rao, Purushottam and Damodar Dev Rao, 1797 A.D.
515. A letter to Vishwanath Mudhaji from Anand Rao Pawar, 1797 A.D.
516. A letter to Nana Shankar from Dev Rao Mahadev, 1798 A.D.
517. A letter to Dada, Bhau, Anna Saheb from Dev Rao , 1798 A.D.
518. A letter to Srimant, 1798 A.D.
519. A letter to Srimant, 1798 A.D.
520. A letter to Rao Saheb from Damodar Dev Rao, 1798 A.D.
521. A letter to Pant Pradhan, 1799 A.D.
522. A letter to Yeshwant Rao, Shivaji and Balaji Krishna from Lakshmi Bai Shinde, 1799 A.D.
523. A letter to Lakshmi Bai Shinde from Amrit Rao Raghunath, 1799 A.D.
524. A letter to Joti Moreshwar from Daulat Rao Shinde, 1799 A.D.
525. A letter to Jagannath Ram and Lakshman Anant from Daulat Rao Shinde.
526. A letter to Anand Rao Pawar from Daulat Rao Shinde, 1799 A.D.
527. A letter to Daulat Rao Shinde, 1799 A.D.
528. A letter to Srimant from Vanavadi, 1799 A.D.
529. A letter to Srimant, 1800 A.D.
530. A letter to Srimant, 1800 A.D.
531. A letter to Gangadhar Pant from Gopal Bhat Damle, 1800 A.D.
532. A letter to Nilkantha Rao Ramchandra from Baji Rao Raghunath, 1803 A.D.
533. A letter to Bala Saheb Pradhan from Bal Joshi, 1804 A.D.
534. A letter to Ser Singh Thakur from Daulat Rao, 1805 A.D.
535. A letter to Tatya Saheb, 1806 A.D.
536. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Gangadhar, 1806 A.D.
537. A letter to Yeshwant Rao Holkar from the Jat of Bharatpur, 1806 A.D.
538. A letter to Yeshwant Rao Holkar from the Jat of Bharatpur, 1806 A.D.
539. A letter to Nana Saheb from Damodar Dev Rao , 1806 A.D.
540. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Gangadhar, 1807 A.D.
541. A letter to Pargana ' Haveli ' from Baji Rao Raghunath, 1816 A.D.
542. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Gangadhar, 1807 A.D.
543. A Supplement, 1807 A.D.
544. A letter to Srimant from Dev Rao Mahadev, 1807 A.D.
545. A Note.
546. A letter to Damodar Dev Rao, 1807 A.D.
547. A letter to Nanaji Shankar from Purushottam Dev Rao, 1809 A.D.
548. A letter to Gangadhar Shiv Ram, 1813 A.D.
549. A letter to Dada Saheb from Gangadhar Shiv Ram, 1814 A.D.
550. A letter to Dada Saheb from Gangadhar Shiv Ram , 1814 A.D.
551. A letter to Maloji Ghorpade from Baji Rao Raghunath, 1817 A.D.

552. A List to Appa Saheb, 1835 A.D.
553. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1787 A.D.
554. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1787 A.D.
555. A letter to Damodar Rao and Anna Saheb from Dev Rao Mahadev, 1787 A.D.
556. A letter to Hari Pant Tatya, 1787 A.D.
557. A letter to Balaji Lakshman from Mahadaji Shinde, 1787 A.D.
558. A letter from Vitthal Khande Rao, 1787 A.D.
559. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Govind Rao, 1787 A.D.
560. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Hari Ballal, 1788 A.D.
561. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1788 A.D.
562. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1788 A.D.
563. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1788 A.D.
564. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Tukoji Holkar, 1788 A.D.
565. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Tukoji Holkar, 1788 A.D.
566. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan.
567. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan.
568. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1788 A.D.
569. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Hari Ballal, 1788 A.D.
570. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Mahadaji Shinde, 1788 A.D.
571. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1788 A.D.
572. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1788 A.D.
573. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1788 A.D.
574. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Mukund Joshi, 1788 A.D.
575. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1788 A.D.
576. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan 1788 A.D.
577. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
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592. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
593. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Jarnardan, 1789 A.D.
594. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
595. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
596. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
597. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Gani Begum, 1789 A.D.
598. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Gani Begum, 1789 A.D.
599. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Dinkar Ballal Gore, 1789 A.D.
600. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Dinkar Ballal Gore, 1789 A.D.
601. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Gani Begum, 1789 A.D.
602. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Gani Begum, 1789 A.D.
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604. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Gani Begum, 1789 A.D.
605. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Gani Begum, 1789 A.D.
606. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
607. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
608. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
609. A letter to Patil Baba, 1789 A.D.
610. A letter to Patil Baba, 1789 A.D.
611. A letter to Patil Baba, 1789 A.D.
612. A letter to Dinkar Ballal, 1789 A.D.
613. A letter to Appaji Rao, 1789 A.D.
614. A letter to Haripant Tatya from Ali Bahadur, 1789 A.D.
615. A letter to Dinkar Ballal Gore, 1789 A.D.
616. A letter to Dinkar Ballal Gore, 1789 A.D.
617. A letter to Dinkar Ballal Gore, 1789 A.D.
618. A letter to Srimant, 1789 A.D.
619. A letter of Mahadaji Shinde, 1789 A.D.
620. A Supplenent, 1789 A.D.
621. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
622. A letter to Tukoji Holkar from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
623. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
624. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
625. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
626. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
627. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
628. A letter of Dinkar Ballal, 1789 A.D.
629. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
630. A letter to Mahadaji Shinde from Madhav Rao Narayan, 1789 A.D.
631. A letter to Tukoji Holkar from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.

632. A letter to Raghunath Hari from Madhav Rao Narayan, 1789 A.D.
633. A letter to Tukoji Holkar from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
634. A letter to Dinkar Ballal Gore, 1789 A.D.
635. A supplement to Gore, 1789 A.D.
636. A letter to Ali Bahadur, 1789 A.D.
637. A letter to Ali Bahadur, 1789 A.D.
638. A letter to Mahadaji Shinde from Madhav Rao Narayan, 1789 A.D.
639. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
640. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
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642. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
643. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
644. A letter to Naro Chintaman from Madhav Rao Narayan, 1789 A.D.
645. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan 1789 A.D.
646. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
647. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
648. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Dinkar Gore, 1789 A.D.
649. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Dinkar Gore, 1789 A.D.
650. A letter to Dev Rao from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
651. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Damodar, 1789 A.D.
652. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
653. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1789 A.D.
654. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
655. A letter to Dinkar Ballal Gore, 1790 A.D.
656. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
657. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
658. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Gani Begum, 1790 A.D.
659. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Gani Begum, 1790 A.D.
660. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
661. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
662. A letter to Dinkar Ballal Gore.
663. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
664. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Hari Ballal, 1790 A.D.
665. A letter to Dinkar Gore, 1790 A.D.
666. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Haripant Phadke, 1790 A.D.
667. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Gani Begum, 1790 A.D.
668. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Gani Begum, 1790 A.D.
669. A letter in honour of Dinkar Ballal Gore, 1790 A.D.
670. A letter in honour of Dinkar Ballal Gore, 1790 A.D.
671. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.

672. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
673. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Gani Begum, 1790 A.D.
674. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Gani Begum, 1790 A.D.
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676. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
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686. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Gani Begum, 1790 A.D.
687. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Gani Begum, 1790 A.D.
688. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Madhav Rao Narayan, 1790 A.D.
689. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
690. A letter to Dinkar Ballal Gore, 1790 A.D.
691. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
692. A letter from Dinkar Ballal Gore, 1790 A.D.
693. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Dinkar Ballal Gore, 1790 A.D.
694. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Rahimat Bibi, 1790 A.D.
695. A Supplement to Ramji Patil Jadhav, 1790 A.D.
696. A letter to Dinkar Gore, 1790 A.D.
697. A letter to Dinkar Gore, 1790 A.D.
698. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
699. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
700. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
701. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
702. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
703. A letter from Dinkar Ballal Gore, 1790 A.D.
704. A letter to Ali Bahadur, 1790 A.D.
705. A letter to Patil Baba, 1790 A.D.
706. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
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711. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
712. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.

713. A letter to Shivaji Pant Bapu from Balaji Janardan, 1790 A.D.
714. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Govind Rao and Damodar, 1790 A.D.
715. A letter to Dinkar Gore, 1790 A.D.
716. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Raja Ram Vitthal, 1790 A.D.
717. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1791 A.D.
718. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1791 A.D.
719. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1791 A.D.
720. A letter to Nana from Damodar Dev Rao, 1792 A.D.
721. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Gore, 1792 A.D.
722. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Naro Krishna, 1792 A.D.
723. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Baijo Narahari, 1792 A.D.
724. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1792 A.D.
725. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1792 A.D.
726. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1792 A.D.
727. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1792 A.D.
728. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Hari Ballal, 1792 A.D.
729. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Hari Ballal, 1792 A.D.
730. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Hari Ballal, 1792 A.D.
731. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Hari Ballal, 1792 A.D.
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734. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Hari Ballal, 1792 A.D.
735. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Nana, 1792 A.D.
736. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Nana, 1792 A.D.
737. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Nana, 1792 A.D.
738. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Nana, 1792 A.D.
739. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Nana, 1792 A.D.
740. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Madhav Rav Narayan, 1792 A.D.
741. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Appaji Babaji, 1792 A.D.
742. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Parashar Dadaji, 1792 A.D.
743. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Hari Pant Phadke, 1792 A.D.
744. A letter to Patil Baba from Damodar Dev Rao, 1792 A.D.
745. A letter to Tatya Saheb from Govind Rao, 1792 A.D.
746. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Hari Ballal, 1794 A.D.
747. A letter of Hari Pant Phadke, 1794 A.D.
748. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Madhav Rao, 1794 A.D.
749. Partition of village ' Padwari ' 1795—1796 A.D.
750. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Balaji Janardan, 1796 A.D.
751. A list of expenditure of a feast, 1799 A.D.
752. A letter to Ravikarna Sheth, 1799 A.D.
753. A letter to Hanamant Lakshman, 1800 A.D.

754. A memorandum from Bailley Saheb, 1800 A.D.
755. A letter to Hanamant Lakshman, 1800 A.D.
756. A letter to Pandurang Mahadev from Ali Bahadur, 1801 A.D.
757. A letter to Gangadhar Ballal from Ali Bahadur, 1802 A.D.
758. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Baji Rao Raghunath, 1802 A.D.
759. A letter to Bahiro Sadashiv from Ali Bahadur, 1802 A.D.
760. A letter from Dinkar Ballal Gore, 1802 A.D.
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762. A letter to Gopal Ramchandra from Hari Ballal, 1802 A.D.
763. A letter to Ramchandra Amatya from Vinayak Abaji Athavale, 1802 A.D.
764. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Baji Rao Raghunath, 1803 A.D.
765. A letter to Ali Bahadur from Baji Rao Raghunath, 1803 A.D.
766. Bakhars (Chronicles) of the Battles of Panipat.
767. A letter to Babu Rao Kaka from Balaji Govind, 1761 A.D.
768. A letter to Janardan Pant from Padmakar Ballal, 1761 A.D.
769. A letter to Dada, 1761 A.D.
770. A letter to Dada, 1761 A.D.
771. A letter to Dada, 1761 A.D.
772. A letter to Janardan Pant from Shankaraji Anant, 1761 A.D.
773. A letter to Janardan Pant from Balaji Govind, 1761 A.D
774. A letter to Janardan Pant from Gangadhar Govind, 1761 A.D.
775. A letter to Dada from Krishnaji Bhikaji, 1761 A.D.
776. A letter to Dada from Krishnaji Bhikaji, 1761 A.D.
777. A letter from Joti Gopal, 1761 A.D.
778. A letter to Dado Pant Dada from Krishanaji Bhikaji, 1761 A.D.
779. A letter to Janardan Pant from Bhikaji Dhond Dev, 1762 A.D.
780. A letter to Dada.
781. A letter from Dadaji Krishnaji Bhikaji, 1762 A.D.
782. A Supplement.
783. A list of Supplements, 1762 A.D.
784. A letter to Pargana ' Akol ' from Baji Rao Raghunath.
785. A letter to Shivaji Raghunath from Srinivas Parasharam, 1740 A.D.
786. A letter to Mahadaji Baba from Manaji Angre, 1734 A.D.
787. A letter to Baji Rao Pandit Pradhan, 1735 A.D.
788. A letter to Raghunath from Balaji Baji Rao, 1748 A.D.
789. A letter to Dada from Balkrishna Dikshit, 1754 A.D.
790. A letter to Tej Karana Mandoloi from Naro Shankar, 1731 A.D.
791. A letter to Tulaji Salukhe from Balaji Baji Rao, 1758 A.D.
792. A letter to Balkrishna Bhat Dikshit from Raghunath Baji Rao, 1763 A.D.
793. A Treaty from Abdulla Subhedar of Trichinapalli, 1740 A.D.
794. A letter to Khandoji Baba, 1740 A.D.

795. A letter to Bhikaji Pant from Govind Dikshit, 1760 A.D.
796. A letter to Vasudev Dikshit from Balaji Baji Rao, 1753 A.D.
797. A letter to Dada from Govind Ballal, 1756 A.D.
798. A letter to Dada from Vitthal Shiv Dev, 1761 A.D.
799. A letter to Visaji Krishna from Madhav Ballal, 1772 A.D.
800. A letter to Nilkantha Abu Rao from Madhav Ballal, 1772 A.D.
801. A Statement about the murder of Jobal Ram, 1719 A.D.
802. Farhatun Nazirin, 1759 A.D.
803. Ibratnama, 1755 A.D.
804. Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 1750—1751 A.D.
805. An unpublished Mohammadan History, 1756—1757 A.D.
806. ' Nigarnama-i-Hind ' by Sayyad Ghulam Hussain, 1760 A.D.
807. Corrections of some mistakes in the biography of Brahmenda Swami.
808. A letter to Deshadhikari, Poona from Balaji Baji Rao, 1758 A.D.
809. A letter to Pandurang Vishwas from Balaji Baji Rao, 1758 A.D.
810. A Supplement, 1764 A.D.
811. A Supplement, 1764 A.D.
812. A letter to Dada from Parashram Ganesh, 1764 A.D.
813. A letter to Dada from Pirthi Singh of Gudha Kat.
814. A Supplement, 1764 A.D.
815. A letter to Dada from Krishnaji Bhikaji, 1764 A.D.
816. A letter to Dada from Dhondo Govind, 1764 A.D.
817. A letter to Dada from Hari, 1764 A.D.
818. A letter to Dada from Hari, 1764 A.D.
819. A letter to Dada from Hari, 1764 A.D.
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821. A Supplement.
822. A letter to Dada from Hari, 1764 A.D.
823. A letter from Appaji Mahapit, 1764 A.D.
824. A letter to Baba Dikshit from Jaggannath Ganesh, 1764 A.D.
825. A letter to Balkrishna Bhat Dikshit from Nara Bhat Kane, 1764 A.D.
826. A letter from Piraji Naik Nimbalkar, 1765 A.D.
827. A letter to Baji Sadashiv, 1765 A.D.
828. A letter to Rao Saheb from Sakho Shiv Dev, 1765 A.D.
829. A letter to Rao Saheb from Sakho Shiv Dev, 1765 A.D.
830. A letter to Janardan Pant Dada from Mukund Kashi, 1765 A.D.
831. A letter to Dada from Hari Bhikaji, 1765 A.D.
832. A letter to Aba Saheb from Lakshman Abaji, 1766 A.D.
833. A letter to Babu Rao from Pandu, 1766 A.D.
834. A letter to Kaka and Tatya, 1770 A.D.

835. A letter to Kaka and Tatya from Dinkar, 1770 A.D.
836. A letter to Dinkar Rao from Gangadhar Govind, 1772 A.D.
837. A letter to Dada from Krishnaji Bhikaji, 1774 A.D.
838. A letter to Janardan Pant from Balaji Govind, 1774 A.D.
839. A letter to Janardan Pant from Gopal Vishwanath, 1775 A.D.
840. A letter to Trimbak Raoji from Dinkar Babu Rao, 1775 A.D.
841. A Supplement to Dada, 1776 A.D.
842. A letter to Kaka Farnavis from Dinkar Babu Rao, 1776 A.D.
843. A letter to Dada from Lakshman Abaji, 1776 A.D.
844. A letter to Janardan Pant from Pandurang Narayan, 1776 A.D.
845. A letter to Nilo Pant from Dinkar, 1776 A.D.
846. A letter to Laxman Pant from Janardan Apaji, 1776 A.D.
847. A letter to Janardan Pant from Balaji Vasudev, 1776 A.D.
848. A letter to Nilo Pant from Dinkar, 1776 A.D.
849. A letter to Janardan Pant from Gangadhar Govind, 1776 A.D.
850. A letter to Lakshman Pant from Janardan Apaji, 1778 A.D.
851. A letter to Lakshman Pant from Janardan Apaji, 1778 A.D.
852. A letter to Lakshman Pant from Janardan Apaji, 1778 A.D.
853. A letter to Lakshman Pant from Janardan Apaji, 1778 A.D.
854. A letter to Lakshman Pant from Janardan Apaji, 1779 A.D.
855. A letter to Balaji Govind Bundelkhand from Parmal Shinde, 1779 A.D.
856. A letter to Lakshman Pant, 1781 A.D.
857. A letter to Lakshman Pant from Janardan Apaji, 1781 A.D.
858. A letter to Lakshman Pant from Janardan Apaji, 1782 A.D.
859. A letter to Mahipat Rao Krishna from Madhav Ballal, 1783 A.D.
860. A letter to Bhaskar Rao Tatya, 1785 A.D.
861. A letter to Bhaskar Rao Tatya, 1787 A.D.
862. A Supplement, 1787 A.D.
863. A letter from Shivaji Raje, 1659 A.D.
864. A letter to Pandurang Visram from Jai Ram Savant, 1739 A.D.
865. A letter to Pandurang Visram from Jiwaji Visram, 1739 A.D.
866. A letter to Pandurang Visram from Jiwaji Visram, 1739 A.D.
867. A letter to Raghunath from Balaji Baji Rao, 1739 A.D.
868. A letter to Tulsi Ram.
869. A letter to Khandoji Wagh.
870. A letter to Khandoji Wagh.
871. A letter to Kandoji Wagh.
872. A letter to Khandoji Wagh.
873. A letter to Khandoji Wagh.
874. A letter to Sangram Singh from Sripat Rao Pratinidhi, 1730 A.D.
875. A letter to Baji Rao Pandit, 1761 A.D.

876. A letter to Dada from Vitthal Shiv Dev, 1760 A.D.
877. A letter to Dhondo Malhar from Sadasihv Chimnaji, 1760 A.D.
878. A letter to Swami from Shivaji Raja.
879. A letter to Maloji Raja from Shivaji Raja, 1677 A.D.
880. A letter to Yekoji Raja from Shivaji, 1678 A.D.
881. A letter to Yekoji Raja from Shivaji, 1678 A.D.
882. A letter to Yekoji Raja from Shivaji, 1678 A.D.
883. A letter to Yekoji Raja from Shivaji, 1678 A.D.
884. A letter to Yekoji Raja from Shivaji, 1678 A.D.
885. A letter to Yekoji Raja from Shivaji, 1680 A.D.
886. A letter to Vithaji Raja , 1623—24 A.D.
887. A letter to Govind Kasi Hawaldar, 1678—79 A.D.
888. A chronicle of geneology.
889. A letter to Chhatra Rajaram from Shankaraji Narayan, 1699 A.D.
890. A letter to Santaji Ghorpade from Ramchandra Nilkantha, 1692 A.D.
891. A letter to Chhatrapati Shiv Raja from Shankaraji Narayan, 1700 A.D.
892. A letter to Vitthal Gopal from Raja Shahu, 1709 A.D.
893. A letter to Chhatrapati from Raghoji Bhonsla, 1705 A.D.
894. A letter to Apaji Kano from Parsharam Trimbak, 1705 A.D.
895. A letter to Chhatrapati from Raghoji Bhonsla, 1705 A.D.
896. A letter to Baba Dikshit from Khandoji Argade, 1769 A.D.
897. A letter to Baba Dikshit from Khandoji Argade, 1769 A.D.
898. A Supplement, 1769 A.D.
899. A letter to Baba Dikshit from Khandoji Argade, 1769 A.D.
900. A letter to Baba Dikshit from Khandoji Argade, 1769 A.D.

There are still 200/250 letters or copies which are not included in the list as their writers are not known.

APPENDIX K.

The Historical Exhibition, 1940.

The Historical Exhibition organised by the Government of Baroda in connexion with the seventeenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at the Baroda State Museum. In his inaugural speech H. H. the Maharaja Pratapsingh Gaekwar (para. 9) invited the members of the Commission and the public to pay a visit to the Exhibition. The Exhibits, which came from Government archives, Indian States, public institutions and private persons belonging to various parts of India, were remarkable both as regards variety and antiquity. These comprised modern state papers of first rate importance, documents of Maratha, Moghal and early British periods, old inscriptions, coins, grants, historical paintings, rare books, manuscript works, fine specimens of calligraphy and many other articles of antiquarian interest.

The Exhibition was open to the public from the 22nd to the 25th December and proved a great success. 400 copies of the lists were very kindly supplied by the Government of Baroda for incorporation in the Proceedings Volumes for this session.

S. N. SEN,

Secretary,

Indian Historical Records Commission.

M520IRD—400—1-5-41—GIPS

List of Exhibits in the Exhibition held in connection with the Seventeenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Baroda in 1940

Compiled by

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Baroda State Press

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PLATE I.



DARBĀR OF BĀBUR.

LIST OF THE EXHIBITS

I. Baroda State

A. THE STATE RECORDS OFFICE, BARODA

(1) Farman of Emperor Jehangir issued in 1618–19 A. D. bestowing on a lady named Kulsum 510 bighas of the land of Savad in Baroda taluka. It bears Emperor's seal and a tugra.

(2) Letter of late Damajirao to Sayajirao regarding the income of Manji Rund to be returned back.

(3) Letter from Damaji II Gaekwad to his son Govindrao about some accounts dated 21st May 1762 and bearing his seal.

(4) Letter from Damaji II Gaekwad to his son Govindrao regarding the income of Manje Rania taluka Savli to be taken from Bhadarwekar Rana dated 20th January 1766.

(5) Order of Govindrao Gaekwad to Bhukhan Bhaidas Mujumdar of Broach bearing the seal of his father Damajirao dated 14th June 1766.

(6) An abstract of revenue account of the Chorasi Pargana, District Surat, bearing the seal of Sayajirao I Gaekwad and dated 20th January 1772.

(7) Letter 7th June 1778 from Peshwa Madhaorao II to Fattesingrao who while crossing Narbuda treacherously assaulted Hari Babaji under whose guard he was being taken to Jhansi. It ends with an exhortation that the Gaekwad should not allow Raghoba to join the English. The last 5 lines are in the handwriting of Nana Fadanvis.

(8) Budget of revenue, income and expenditure passed against Laxman Shamraj, the farmer bearing the seal of Fattesingh I Gaekwad dated 6th April 1781.

(9) Letter from Mahadji Shinde to Manajirao Gaekwad requesting the latter to give all the travelling facilities to Mehta Sada Shankar

PLATE II.



NAWĀB SHĀISTA KHĀN

(7) Terracotta figurines, torsos, busts, heads-human and divine — excavated at Amreli.

(8) Miscellaneous objects excavated at Amreli—dice, lead stand or weight and a lead piece from which coins were struck.

(9) A necklace made of earthen ornaments.

(10) Two full conch-shell bangles, 3 earthen bangle fragments and fragments of carved conch-shell bangles excavated at Amreli with Kshatrapa coins.

(11) Coins :—

(a) Punch-marked coins from Kāmrej.

(b) Other important coins from Kāmrej (Kshatrapa, Avantī and Tribal).

(c) Kshatrapa (silver, lead and potin) coins from Amreli. The most important of these are the two dated potin coins of Vīradāman.

(12) Impressions of important inscriptions.

(a) A hero-stone from Mūlvāsara with inscription of the reign of Kshatrapa Rudrasena I dated Śaka year 122 (=200 A. D.)

(b) Bijjalakuvāñ Mahādeva stone inscription recording that the famous king Siddharāja Jayasiṁha of Gujarāt had a canal dug from the river Sarasvatī to fill up the Sahasraliṅga reservoir. (Cir. 12th Cen. A. D.)

(c) The Māṇḍvī (Baroda) stone inscription of the time of Dāmāji Rao Gaekwad dated V. S. 1732 (i. e. 1736 A. D.)

(d) Someśvara's *praśasti* at Dabhoi dated V. S. 1311.

(e) Ganje-Shahīd stone inscription at Dabhoi dated V. S. 1701 or 1054 A. H. recording the remission of revenue by Qazzaq Khān the Mughal Governor of Dabhoi and other *tālukās*.

(f) Gaṇdevī stone inscription of the Kadamba ruler Shashṭha II dated Śaka year 964 (=1042 A. D.)

(g) Navlākhī-vāv stone inscription recording the construction of the stepped-well in the reign of Zaffar Khān (=Muzaffar) in the Hijri year 807 (=1405 A. D.)

(13) Select photographs of archæological finds and of monuments in the Baroda State.

(14) A map of Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ showing archæological and historical sites.

(15) A plan of excavations of the Sahasraliṅga reservoir site at Patan.

(16) Copies of the frescoes in the Tāmbekara-wāḍā, Baroda.

C. Baroda State Museum.

(1) Saṁkheḍā grant of Sāntilla, a general of Nirihullaka. (One plate) 6th Cen. A. D.

(2) Aṇastu copperplate grant of Śīlāditya III of Valabhī, dated Gupta year 357 (676-7 A. D.) (Two plates and one seal).

(3) Muruḍ-Jañjīrā copperplate grant of the Śilāhāra king Aparājita-deva dated Śaka year 915 (993 A. D.) (Three plates and one seal).

(4) Three Buddhist bronze images excavated from Mahuḍī, Vijapur *tālukā*. Cir. 7th Cen. A. D.

(5) Some illustrations from the *Mahābhārata* (in Persian). Early Mughal school.

(6) A plaster cast of the famous Mathurā Lion Capital with Kharoshṭhī inscriptions.

(7) Two folios from a palm-leaf Ms. of *Prajñāpārmitā* from Nepal, with miniature paintings. Cir. 10th Cen. A. D.

(8) Door panel with pictures from the Tāmbekara-wāḍā, Baroda.

(9) Nālandā clay seals and plaques. Cir. 7th Cen. A. D.

(10) Coins of the Gaekwads (silver and copper).

D. Through Muni Puṇyavijayaji of Patan.

(1) A palm leaf Ms. of *Siddhahema-laghuvṛitti* of the reign of Siddharāja (1094 to 1143 A. D.), the famous king of Gujarāt, containing his portrait.

(2) Farman of Jehangir, the Mughal emperor with his portrait as well as that of Sulṭān Khurram and of some courtiers and monks dated in the Vikrama year 1667 (1610 A. D.), prohibiting slaughter of animals in Paryushaṇa days.

(3) Fragment of a *Vijñaptipatra* from Jodhpur.

Plate III



Mirabai in Trance.

E. Illustrated Ms. on cloth of *Saṁgrahaṇī-sūtra* dated V. S. 1453 (=1396 A.D.) the earliest known manuscript on cloth, from the collection of Muni Yaśovijayaji, Patan.

F. Gujarat Vernacular Society. Ahmedabad (through Dr. Śastri, Director of Archaeology, Baroda).

(1) An old scroll giving the *Vaṁśāvalis* of several rulers including the Chāvaḍās and the Mughal Emperors of India.

(2) Illustrated Ms. of the *Durgā-saptaśatī*.

(3) Illustrated Ms. of the *Kalpasūtra*

G. Portraits and Waslis from the collection of Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar.

(a) Durbār of Bābur; Nawab Shāista Khān. (See plates I and II).

(b) Specimens of Caligraphic writings.

H. Exhibits from the collection of Dr. Hirananda Śastri.

(1) A dated manuscript of *Kammavāchā* (Skt. Karmavāchanā, i. e. Ecclesiastical Resolutions) written in golden ink in old Burmese script with an inscribed string round it. 1268 Burmese common year.

(2) Illustrated folio from the *Chittarasamañjarī* dated V. S. 1752 in the reign of Kṛipālapāla of Basohli (Jammu).

(3) Illustrated palm-leaf Ms. of the *Gīta-govinda*.

(4) Old copy of a portrait of Mīrābāi in Jaipur palace.

(5) Mīrābāi in trance. (Plate III)

(6) Elopement. (An old painting of early Rajput School probably connected with some historical events).

II. Exhibits from the Imperial Record Department

1. Letter from Captain W. Richardson submitting a report of his voyage from London to purchase Slaves for Fort Marlbro'. (Pub. 22, Aug. 1765 No. 1.)

2. Copy of a Treaty with Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowlah of Oudh. [Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, No. 1 (b)].

3–7. Copies of *Farmans* from the Mug-hal Emperor Shah Alam granting the *Diwani* of Bengal, Behar and Orissa to the East India Company and copy of an agreement between the Company and the Nawab of Murshidabad, in connection with the above grant. (Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, Nos. 2–6)

8. Proclamation of peace concluded between the East India Company and Nawab Shuja-o-Dowlah. (Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, No. 12).

9. Statement of the fifty Lakhs to be paid by Shuja-ud-Dowla. A statement of King's debt to the Company. (Perhaps it is written in the handwriting of Lord Clive) (Pub. 9 Sep. 1765, No. 13).

10. Lord Clive's proposal for the establishment of a fund with the Legacy of five lakhs of rupees bequeathed to him by Nawab Mir Jafar and of three lakhs by Nawab Nazam-ud-Dowlah for the benifit of the invalids and widows of the Company's soldiers. [Pub. 20 Jan. 1767, Nos. 6–6 (5)].

11. Letter from the Minister to the King of Rangam (Rangoon) intimating that the King has granted Lord Clive some ground in his city to make a Factory and Bankshall to repair and rebuild ships. (Pub. 1 Feb. 1768, Nos. 2 (a) 16).

12. Minute of the Board on *Dadney* purchases, establishing liberty of trade, and prohibiting any attempt to force advance upon weavers. (In Warren Hastings' handwriting.). (Pub. 12 Apr. 1773, Nos. 6-7).

13–15. List of presents made by the Peshwa and the Ministers at Poona to Lieut.-Genl. Sir John Clavering and Mr. Richard Barwell. (Pub. 11 Augt. 1777, Nos. 2–3 and A.)

16. Governor General's Minute regarding the introduction of a paper currency. (Pub. 1 May. 1780, No. 24).

17. Regulation of Treasury notes. (H. D. Pub. 8 May. 1780, No. 19).

18. Translation with original of an address, dated the 13th December 1788, from the principal members of the Greek Church in Bengal to the Court of Directors, testifying to the blessings and prosperity they enjoyed during the administration of Mr. Hastings, and expressing their gratitude for the same. (Pub. 9 Jan. 1789, No. 21 and K. W.)

19. Copy of a letter from Mr. C. W. Mallet, Resident at Poona, enclosing with his remarks copies of certain papers, giving a sketch of the foreign and internal commerce of the Mahrattas, and discussing at length the prospects of increasing the commercial intercourse between the Mahratta country and the Company's territories. (Pub. 22 Apr. 1789, No. 25).

20. Correspondence with Mr. C. W. Mallet, Resident at Poona on the subject of the establishment of a fixed and regular *dak* between Western India and Presidencies of Fort William and Fort St. George. (Pub. 22 Apr. 1789, No. A).

21. Minute of the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay on native education. (Pub. 7 Mar. 1835, No. 15).

22. Original notes and Minutes on the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India by Lord William Bentinck, Governor General, the Hon'ble A. Ross and the Hon'ble Lt.-Col. W. Morrison, C. B., Members of the Supreme Council, and Mr. H. T. Princep, Secretary to the Government of India in the General Department; there are notes and remarks in pencil on Mr. Princep's Minute by the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay (afterwards Lord), Member of the Supreme Council. (Pub. 7 Mar.1835, No. 19 and K. W.)

23. Lord Auckland's Minute on the promotion of education among the Indians. (H. D. G. G's Pub. Cons. 24 Nov. 1839, No. 10).

24–27. Introduction of Postage Stamps in supercession of the system of money payments as postages. (Pub. 18 Mar. 1853, No. 1; 1 Jul. 1853 Nos. 1–3; 12 May 1854, Nos. 44–45; 19 May 1854, No. 64).

28. Public Despatch from the Court of Directors, No. 1 of 3 Jan. 1855, referring for the consideration of the Government of India a plan

by Mr. Julius Reuter for the establishment of a direct and uninterrupted communication between the electric telegraph in India and those in Europe. Pub. Genl. Letters from Court 1855, Vol. 1).

29. Bill for the incorporation of the University of Calcutta with adaptations for the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay (Pub. 12 Dec. 1856, Nos. 54–55).

30. An Urdu Proclamation (with English Translation) issued by Nana Sahib to incite the Indian troops during the Mutiny, 1857. (Pub. 7 Aug. 1857, No. 137).

31. Infanticide and murder among the Brinjarahs (Pub. 11 Jan. and 28 Mar. 1868, Nos. 28–29 and 116–118).

32. Supposed continuance of human sacrifices in certain districts of the Central provinces. (Pub. 30 May 1868, No. 141).

33. Female infanticide in the eastern part of the Sehory Pergunnah in the Jubulpore district (Pub. 26 Sep. 1868, No. 95).

34. Suppression of Female infanticide (Pub. 20 Aug. 1870, Nos. 96-98).

35. Minute of Brig. Genl. Sir Robert Barker on the reconstruction of the Sepoy Corps and a plan to establish a Militia for the internal protection of the country and the collection of revenues. (Sec. 28 Jan. 1773, No. 2).

36. Origin, Progress and Present State of the Pindaries and the Mahrattas, 1801–21 (For. Misc. Vol. No. 124).

37. Plan for establishing a route for mail from India to England via Red Sea. (Pol. 11 Sep. 1812 Nos. 7–9).

38. List of presents sent by the Governor General to Maharaja Pursoji Bhonsla on the death of his father Maharaja Raghoji Bhonsla and on his accession to the *masnad* and to Appa Sahib on his appointment to the Regency (P. C. 25 May 1816, Nos. 49–52.)

39. Restoration of the Danish Settlements on the Coromandal Coast. (P. C. 6 July 1816, Nos. 1–2).

40. Appa Sahib's proposal to raise a battalion of Sepoys after the European manner under British Officers approved by the Governor General (P. C. 9 Nov. 1816, Nos. 31–32).

41. Major General Sir John Malcom's minute on the Revenue and Judicial administration of the Southern Maratha country and the

genealogy of the Maratha chiefs, 1829. (For. Dept. Misc. Records, Serial No. 204).

42–43. Abolition of the *Suttee* rite in the dominion of the Raja of Nagpore. (P. C. 14 Jan. 1833 No. 45; 25 Sep. 1837, Nos. 104–106.)

44. Correspondence regarding the measures pursued for the supression of Female Infanticide amongst the Jarejahs of Kathiawar (P. C. 22 Mar. 1835, Nos. 4–7).

45. Bombay Government instructed regarding deputation of a mission from Baroda to the Governor General. (contains a translation of a *Yad* from H. H. the Gaekwar.) (P. C. 4 Sep. 1837, Nos. 7–8).

46. Proclamation issued by the Raja of Satara abolishing the *Sati* rite and making the Company's rupees current within his territory. (P. C. 8 Jan. 1840, Nos. 18–19).

47. Mr. H. T. Prinsep's narrative of Alexandar's expedition to India, *Circa* 1842. (For. Misc. Records, No. 346).

48–49. Correspondence with H. H. the Gaikwar and others regarding the recovery of the Sandal Wood Gates of the Somnath Temple from the Tomb of Sultan Mahmud of Ghuznee and the restoration of the same to H. H. the Gaikwar and the measures taken for giving publicity to the Governor General's letter to the Hindu Chiefs and populations. (P. C. 4 Jan. 1843, Nos. 6–10 and 1 Mar. 1843, Nos. 10–12).

50. Marriage of H. H. the Gaekwar's daughter. Khureetas inviting the Governor General and the Governor of Bombay to Baroda. (P. C. 15 July 1843, Nos. 8–10).

51. H. H. the Gaekwar's son's wedding. Governor General invited to Baroda (P. C. 4 Apr. 1845, Nos. 4–5).

52. Khureeta from H. H. the Gaekwar inviting the Governor General to his brother's wedding at Baroda (P. C.7 Apr. 1848, Nos. 9-10).

53–54. Suppression of human sacrifice in some hill tracks of Orissa namely Kalahandi, Bastar and their dependancies etc. (P. C. 3 Jan. 1851 Nos. 114–15; 23 Mar. 1855, Nos. 114–15).

55. Establishment of Courts of Criminal Justice at Baroda (P. C. 10 Sep. 1852, No. 11).

56–57. Occurrence of a case of *Sati* in the State of Baroda (P. C. 13 Jan. 1854 Nos. 10–13; 7 Jul. 1854 Nos. 28–32).

58. Survey of the proposed Baroda and Agra railway line. (P. C. 27 Jan. 1854, Nos. 54–56).

59. Proclamation issued by the Gaekwar abolishing slavery in his terrritories. (Contains three Marathi letters). (P. C. 11 Apr. 1856, Nos. 2–4).

60. Khureeta from H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda to Viscount Canning on his assumption of office as Governor General. (P. C. 13 Jun. 1856, Nos. 8–9).

61. Khureeta from H. H. the Gaekwar regarding the Treaty of Peace between Russia and the allied powers. (P. C. 3 Oct. 1856, Nos. 21–22).

62. Census of the Baroda State. (P. C. 21 Nov. 1856, Nos. 9–10).

63. Presents from and to Kundeh Rao Gaekwar of Baroda on his accession to the *guddee*. (P. C. 27 Mar. 1857, Nos. 25–26).

64. Proposed modification in Rules for the protection of travellers or merchants in Baroda. (P. C. 22 May 1857 Nos. 21–22 and K. W).

65. Withdrawal from currency of the old coin bearing superscription of Ex–king of Delhi and the substitution of a new coinage by H. H. the Gaekwar. (P. C. 6 Aug. 1858, Nos. 88–90).

66. Capture of Tantia Topee's family by Sindhia's Subah of Bhind. (S. C. 24 Sep. 1858, No. 128).

67. Correspondence regarding invasion of the Province of Guzerat by Tantia Topee and approval of the military precaution and political action taken by the Resident at Baroda. (P. C. 11 Mar. 1859, Nos. 196–203).

68. Correspondence regarding the promotion of education in H. H. the Gaekwar's territories. (P. C. 22 Apr. 1859, Nos. 17–18).

69. Presentation to H. H. the Gaekwar by the Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway Company of a Railway Carriage for his travelling purposes, with an appropriate design. (P. C. 22 Apr. 1859, Nos. 77–79).

70. Letter from the Resident at Baroda forwarding copy and translation of a *Yad* (in Marathi) from H. H. the Gaekwar requesting that the Resident should be empowered to settle all disputes that may occur in ceded land given for the Railway. (P. C. 14 Oct. 1859, Nos. 17–18).

71. Scheme for the promotion of education in the territories of H. H. the Gaekwar. (Pol. Desp. to Secy of State, No. 34, dated 2nd June 1860).

72. Suppression of the crime of emasculation of children in Sindhia's territory. (Genl. A. June 1869, Nos. 66–70).

73. Kolhapur succession. Contains a genealogical table of the Bhonsla family from which both the Satara and Kolhapur Rajas derived their origin (Pol. A. May 1871, No. 568).

73. a Earthquake in the town of Bhooj (in Cutch) and in its vicinity. (Pol. 28 Aug. 1819, No. 6–9).

Treaties and other illuminated documents

74. Original letter from Her Majesty Queen Victoria to the King of Burma on his accession to the throne of Burma. Bears the signature of Her Majesty.

75. Treaty with King Christen VIII of Denmark for transferring the Danish Settlements in India to the English, dated 22 Feb. 1845. (In English. In a red velvet cover with a seal of the King of Denmark in a silver box).

76. Communication (in Latin) from the Emperor Joseph II of Austria, dated Vienna, 8 Jul. 1782, to Haidar Ali, regarding the appointment of Mr. W. Bolts, as his consul and Lieut. Imues as Inspector. Bears the signature of the Emperor.

77. Persian illuminated manuscripts showing different styles of caligraphy. (19 Folios).

Documents containing signatures of Governor–Generals from Warren Hastings to Lord Canning

78. Sec. Cons. 24 Mar. 1775, No. 3. (Bearing W. Hastings' Autograph).

79. Minute of Sir John McPherson (*protem*) proposing that the opinion of the Advocate–Genl. may be taken to determine whether compliance with Mr. Stewart's request would be considered as an evasion of certain Act of Parliament. (H. D. Pub. 31 May 1785, No. 2).

80. Minute of Sir John Shore, expressing, on his approaching departure for Europe, his sincerest acknowledgments to his colleagues for the services rendered by them. (H.D. Pub. 5 Mar. 1798, No.1).

81. Lt.-Genl Sir Alured Clark, K. C. B. (*protem*). Minute proposing the appointment of the sanctioned number of cadets as Ensigns of Infantry Regts., which are difficient in officers, the Cavalry Regts. being already complete. (Mily. Cons. 27 Aug. 1799 No. 1).

82. The Earl of Mornington (Marquess of Wellesley). Letter from the Governor-General in Council at Fort St. George stating that no further expense need be incurred in sending rice from Bengal, and recommending that as rice is wanted at the Cape of Good Hope it be sent there. (H. D. Pub. 31 May 1799 No. 2).

83. Minute of Lord Cornwallis acknowledging receipt of, and conforming to para 4 of Court of Directors Public General Letter dated 5 April 1793, regarding the terms of office and of payment of salary of Governor-General and Council of Bengal and Governor and Council of other Presidencies, when one goes out of India and westward of the Cape of Good Hope. (H. D. Pub. 30 July 1805, No. 6).

84. Letter of Lt.-Col. Sir George Barlow (*pro-tem.*) enclosing his minute appointing the Hon. Mr. George Udny as Vice President and Deputy Governor of Fort William. (H. D. Pub. 14 Oct. 1805, No. 6).

85. Minute of Earl of Minto and Council appointing Mr. G. I. Siddons as an Asstt. to the Resident at Fort Marlborough. (H. D. Pub. 1 Jan. 1808 No. 1).

86. Earl of Moira's minute giving his reasons for the restoration of the salary of the Private Secretary from Rs. 36,000 per annum to its former standard of Rs. 50,000. (H. D. Pub. 7 January 1814 No. 1).

87. Marquis of Hastings' letter resigning the offices of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief of all the King's and the Hon'ble Company's Forces in India. (Autograph). (H. D. Pub. 13 January 1823 No. 4).

88. Minute of Governor-General John Adam (*pro-tem.*) appointing Charles Lushington as Private Secretary. (H. D. Pub. 13 January 1823 No. 8).

89. Lord Amherst's letter granting license to Mr. J. H. Alt. Prof. of Bishop's College to proceed to England. (H. D. Pub. 7 August 1823 No. 2).

90. Mr. W. B. Bayley acknowledges general letter from Court. (H. D. Gen. 13 March 1828 No. 4c).

91. Lord W. H. C. Bentinck acknowledges General Letter from Court. (H. D. Gen. July 1828 No. 2).

92. Sir Charles Metcalf's minute nominating Mr. W. T. Princep as a member of the Council. (H. D. Gén. 20 March 1835 No. 5).

93. Lord Auckland's autograph letter regarding his sentiments upon the services rendered to the State by his private Secretary Mr. I. R. Colvil. (H. D. Gen. 2 March 1842 No. 1).

94. Earl of Ellenborough's communication to the Members of his Council advising them to notify his tour (Up-Country) in the official Gazette. A letter from Mr. W. W. Bird (*pro-tem.*) (H. D. Pub. 11 April 1842 No. 1).

95. Autograph letter of Sir Hardinge announcing his departure from Barracpore. (H. D. Pub. 22 September 1845 No. 1).

96. Lord Dalhausie's autograph expressing his Lordship's regret on taking leave and the high opinion he entertains of Mr. Secy. Bushby. (H. D. Pub. 10 October 1848, No. 5).

97. Hollograph of Lord Canning on the duties performed by the Home Secretary to a Junior Secretary with reduced pay, and of separating the Revenue and Judicial business from the Foreign Department. (H. D. Pub. 24 October 1856 No. 53).

Persian Documents

98. From Madhuji Bhonsla. In view of impending war with the French, the Governor-General sent under Colonel Leslie reinforcements to assist the Bombay Government and requested the Bhonsla to let them pass through his territories. The Bhonsla informs the Governor-General that he had taken necessary measures for the safe passage of the Army. (Pers. 10 May 1778, No. 32).

99. From Peshwa (Narayan Rao). Says that he will stick to the terms of the treaty and asks the Governor-General to do the same. (Pers. 12 December 1778, No. 188).

100. From Raghunath Rao. Thanks the Governor General for his sending reinforcements to assist the Bombay Government in his behalf. Bears the writer's signature. (Pers. 16 Dec. 1778, No.144).

101. From Chhattar Singh, Rana of Gohad–Informs the Governor. General of the capture of the fortress of Gwalior by Captain Popham on 2 Sabhan (3 Aug. 1780). Bears the Rana's seal. (Pers. 5 Sept. 1780, No 33).

102. From Nana Farnavis, minister of the Peshwa. Asks the Governor General to send military assistance to the Peshwa and the Nizam against Tipu. Bears the seal of Nana Farnavis. (Pers. 14 Nov. 1785, No. 94).

103. From Madho Rao Sindhia. Has received the Governor General's letter saying that he has returned to Calcutta after making a tour of all the Company's possessions and reviewing the troops at the different stations and intimating that Major Palmer who has been appointed Resident at the Writers' Court will shortly proceed there. Bears the Writers' seal. (Pers. 8 Feb. 1788, No. 101).

104. From His Majesty Shah Alum. Has learnt from the Governor General's letter that he is leaving for Madras with a view to punishing Tipu for his having invaded Travancore, the territory of an ally of the English. Bears the seal of His Majesty. (Pers. 8 Mar. 1790, No. 50).

105. From Tipu Sultan. Says that he has deputed his vakils to the Governor-General in order to negotiate a treaty of peace with he East India Company. Bears the seal of Tipu Sultan 1792 A. D. (Pers. 12. Feb. 1792, No. 114).

106. From Doulat Rao Sindhia. Says that Rao Baji Rao, the elder son of Raghunath Rao, has been installed Peswa in succession to Madhu Rao who is dead. Nana Farnavis would not at first agree to the measure out of selfish motives but had to acquiesce when he found that none of the chiefs would support him. (Pers. 9 Sep. 1796, No. 328).

107. From the Peshwa Baji Rao II. Approving of the suggestion made by Colonel Palmer that before declaring war against Tipu who has concluded a secret treaty with the French, it is necessary to enquire from him whether he still adheres to his engagements made at Seringapatam. Bears the seal of the Peshwa. (Pers. 20 Sep. 1798, No. 361).

108. From Nizam Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad. Intimates that he has made over to Captain Kirkpatrick copies of the correspondence which passed between him and Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the Nizam. (Pers. 10 Feb, 1799, No. 19).

109. From Raja Bhim Singh of Jodhpur. Promises not to give protection in his country to Vazir Ali Khan and his associates who had murdered Mr. Cherry. Bears the seal of the Raja (Pers. 1 Jul. 1799, No. 174).

110. From Maharaja Krishna Raja Wodayar of Mysore. Expressing his gratitude on being released and restored to the kingdom of his ancestors which had been usurped by the dynasty of Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of Maharaja. (Pers. 12 July 1799, No. 198).

111. From Maharaja Siwai Partap Singh of Jaipore. Informs the Governor General that Wazir (Vizir) has arrived in his country and is now in his custody. Bears the Maharaja's seal. (Pers. 17 Sep. 1799, No. 260).

112. From the Raja of Nepal. Congratulates the Governor-General on the success of the English Fleet in Egypt. Has noted with pleasure that the Sultan of Turkey and the Czar of Russia have joined the English as active allies. Bears the Raja's seal. (Pers. 28 Sep. 1799, No. 286).

113. Letter (in Persian) from Fath Singh Gaekwar, Chief of Baroda, to Mr. Macpherson received May 23, 1787. Congralulates him on his appointment to the Office of the Governor-General. Hopes for his favour and support. Bears a seal. (Pers. OR. 1787, No. 263).

114. Letter (in Persian) from Fath Singh Gaekwar to Mr. James Anderson, received May 23, 1787. Is delighted to learn that Mr. Anderson has promised to represent properly his case when negotiations take place with the Peshwa. Hopes that he would strongly recommend to the Governor-General that his share of Broach *mahal* should be released in his favour. (Pers. OR. 1787, No. 265).

115. Memorial (in Persian) from the Zamindars, Merchants and the Principal Inhabitants of Hooghly, received September 16, 1806, protesting against the abolition of the civil and criminal courts of justice from Hooghly and requesting that the integrity of the District may be maintained. Bears the signatures and seals in Persian, Nagri, and Bengali characters. (Pers. OR. 1806, No. 701).

116. Letter (in Persian) from the Raja of Mysore to Marquess of Hastings, received August 28, 1820. Expresses his grief on the death of King George III and his Joy at the accession of George IV. Written in highly ornate language. Bears a seal. (Persian 1820).

Documents in other Oriental Languages

117. Letter (in Marathi with Persian Translation) from Appaji Sabaji agent of Maharaja Mahadaji Sindhia to Warren Hastings, received May 12, 1779. Says that William Hornby, the Governor of Bombay has been guilty of violating the treaty concluded between the English and the Peshwa. Prays that in general interest of the parties concerned the Governor should be directed to abide by the treaty and to consider its observance a sacred obligation. (Pers. OR. 1779, No. 83)

118. Letter (in Marathi) from Tuljaji, Raja of Tanjore to the Governor-General, received July 2, 1786. Assures the Governor–General of his faithfulness and sincerety towards the English Company. Proposes the ways and means for the liquidation of his balances due to the Company. Complains against the atrocities of Nawab of Arcot and solities protection from him. Bears the Raja's seal on the envelope. (Pers. OR. 1786, No. 48).

119. Letter (in Marathi) from Rani Durga Bai of Sawantwadi to the Resident professing loyalty and saying that his orders have been carried out. Forwarded by the envoy at Goa under date 24th March, 1814.

120. An illuminated letter (in Marathi) from the Raja of Satara, received October 16, 1837.

121 A Marathi illuminated Letter, received in 1837.

122 From Raja Chait Singh of Benares. This is a Sanskrit text of the answers of the Pandits of Benares who were asked by the Governor–General to give their rulings in the light of the *Shastras* to a question of law. Bears the signatures of the renowned Pandits of Benares. (Pers. Lr. 7 November 1778, No. 102)

123. Letter (in Nagri) from Purangir Gosain to the Governor–General, received Nov. 20, 1790. Reports that he has been plundered in the country of Deb Raja by the people of Paro Valley who have taken away his gold, coral, clove and one thousand rupees in cash. Requests that a through investigation should be made in this matter. (Pers. OR. 1790, No. 320).

124. Letter (in Bengali) from Babu Hari Mohon to the Dutch Council received 17th Aug. 1786. Represents that Mr. Gale is preventing his weavers from manufacturing cloth which the writer supplies to

the Dutch. Requests them to adopt measures as may enable his men to carry on their work without molestation. (Pers. OR. 1786, No. 100).

125. Letter (in Bengali) from the mother of the Raja of Cooch Behar to Lord Cornwallis, received Feby. 21,1788. Complains against the ill-treatment which she and her son are receiving from Nazir Deo. Solicities protection from his Lordship. (Pers. OR. 1788, No 126).

126. Letter (in Oriya) from the Raja of Bond (in Orissa) to the Commissioner at Cuttuck, received April 23,1804. Says that he would acknowledge no authority other than the English as his over-lord. (Pers. OR. 1804, No. 218).

127. A letter in Kanarese.

128. Letter (in Burmese with Dutch Translation) from the Viceroy of Pegu to the Governor-General, Aug. 1,1805. Complains against Captain Purser's conduct in seizing a ship within his dominious and requests that he should be punished. (Pers. OR. 1805, No. 424).

129. Letter (in Burmese) from Raja of Arakan to the Governor General received March 1,1808). Concedes the rights of all the European nations to enjoy equal freedom in the commerce of Burma provided they pay the established duties of the country. (Pers. OR. 1808, No. 96).

130. Letter from the Dharma Raja of Bhutan, received 6 April, 1837. Artistically illuminated borders containing the conventional dragons, conch etc. (Pers. OR. 1837)

131. Letter (in Chinese) from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the King of Cochin China to the Governor-General. received Mar. 27, 1813. In reply to the Governor General's letter of the 16th July 1812 respecting the claims of Messrs Abbot and Maithland of Madras on His Majesty the King of Cochin China. Bears a seal on each page. (Pers. OR. 1813)

132. Letter from the Teshu Lama to the Governor General, received June 28,1793. Narrates the particulars of the campaign against Nepal and notifies the subsequent conclusion of peace. Expresses satisfaction at the contents of his letter. Desires that the Chinese language of Lhasa may be the medium of communication between them. Bears a seal. (Pers. OR. 1793, No. 305).

Specimens of repairing works done in the Imperial Reco Department

133. Manuscripts illustrating the evil effect of repairing document with white tracing paper.(H. D. Pub. 9 Oct. 1806, No. 35).

133 A The tracing papers were subsequently peeled off and repaired with chiffon. (H. D. Pub. 11 Nov. 1782, No. 6).

134. Specimen of repair with Japanese tissue paper. (P.C. 14 March, 1823, No. 45).

135. Specimen of a chiffon repair. (P. C. 29 Mar. 1823, No. 36).

136. Document laminated with cellulose acetate foil. (Done by the National Archives, Washington, U. S. A.). P. C. 2nd June 1825, No. 24 (12 sheets)

137. A repaired manuscript volume illustrating how the isolated sheets of damaged volumes can be mended and made up into sections with guards to have a durable and flexible binding (Beng. Pub. Cons. 1758, Sl. No. 9).

138. A book exhibited as a fine specimen of inlaying work. (This book was hopelessly damaged by larvae). (Annals of the College of Fort William).

Maps and plans

139. (a) Plan of Bombay, 1758.

(b) Plan of Bombay, 1767.

140. Plan of Cambay, 1775.

141. Reconnoitring plan of Madras by the gentlemen of the Royal Crops, 21st December 1758.

From C. O. Book Stall, New and Antiquarian Booksellers, 9, Shama Charan De Street, Calcutta:—

1. 'Treatise on the Government of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, with respect to the Revenues and the Administration of Justice from the time of Jaffier Khan to that of Serajeddoula.' (Translated from the Persian).

III. Exhibits from the Government of Bengal.

1.	Revenue Board Consisting of the whole Council O. C. No. 17 of 11 June 1773.	Petition of Lokenath Nandi, Gokul Chandra Ghosal, Darpa Narayan Thakur and Kashinath Babu, salt contractors of Hijili (now in the district of Midnapore), to W. Hastings, President and Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William, representing their grievances in not having the terms of their salt contract complied with. The signatories to the petition were all well known people in their own day and their families constitute great houses in this generation as well.
2.	Revenue Board consisting of the whole Council O.C. No. 6 of 26 November 1773.	Letter (in French) dated 1773 from the Chief and Council of French Settlement at Chandernagore complaining against the conduct of Mr. Barwell whose sepoys apprehended a Jamadar attached to the French Factory. The signatories to the letter constituted the Chief and Council of the French Factory at Chandernagore.
3.	Calcutta Committee of Revenue O.C. No. 1 of 6 December 1773.	Letter dated 23 November 1773 from the Board of Revenue consisting of the whole Council to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, stating that the Collectors appointed in districts for the collection of revenue have been recalled and formulating the constitution of the six Provincial Councils of Revenue for the same purpose, for the provinces of Bengal and Bihar. The letter explains an important phase in the revenue administration of the country

during the Government of Warren Hastings. Contains the autographs of Warren Hastings, W. Aldersey, P. M. Dacres, Jas. Lawrell and others.

4. Revenue O. C. No. 1 of 12 September 1775.

Joint minute of Warren Hastings and Richard Barwell, a number of the Supreme Council, on the conduct of Mr. W. M. Thackeray, Collector of Sylhet, in farming the district in his own account contrary to the standing orders of Government.

Mr. Thackaray was the grand-father of the great novelist.

5. Calcutta Committee of Revenue O. C. No, 1 of 20 October 1775.

Letter dated 16 October 1775 from the Revenue Department of the Governor-General of Bengal to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, enquiring if the French have established within the jurisdiction of the Committee any factories or residencies except in their settlements at Chandernagore and Balasore.

This letter bears the autographs of the Governor-General and his Council, Viz. Warren Hastings, Col. George Monsoon, Philip Francis, Richard Barwell and Genl. John Clavering.

6. Rev. O. C. 5 & 8, dated 7th July 1780.

These papers contain a report regarding the death of Nawab Mohammad Irich Khan father-in-law of Nawab Serajuddowlah and also show that Umdat-un-nesa Begum, the eldest daughter of Nawab Irich Khan and the first wife of Nawab Serajuddowlah had no issue.

7. Revenue O. C. No. 26 of 27 October 1780.

Translation of a letter received on 7 October 1780 from Nawab Mubarak-ud-daulah, Nawab Nizim of Bengal, conferring the title of Maharajadhiraj on Raja Shib Chandra of Nadia.

Raja Shib Chandra was the son of Maha Rajendra Krishna Chandra of the Nadia Raj

Family. The letter gives an idea as to how *sanadas* were granted in Hasting's time. A reference to the Indian title of the Governor-General which runs as "Amaudul-Dowlah Governor-General Mr. Hastings Bahadur Jelladut Jang" will also be found.

8. Revenue O. C. No. 28 of 27 October 1780.

Draft of a letter dated 27 October 1780 from the Governor General in Council to the Calcutta Committee of Revenue, sanctioning the conferment of the title of Maharaja-Dhiraj on Raja Shib Chandra of Krishnagar.

9. Revenue O. C. No. 2 of 20 February 1781.

Draft of a letter to the Committee of Revenue appointing as *Diwan* to the Committee, Ganga Govinda Sing (the person who figures largely in Burke's Impeachment of Warren Hastings).

10. Bd. of Rev. O. C. 35, of 8 September 1786.

Contains Geneological table of the Canongoes' family in Bengal.

11. Bd. of Revenue O. C. 14, of 13 March 1787.

Translation of a Sunnud dated 27th of Ramzanul Mobarak in the 17th year of Julus, granted to Ramkanta Roy by Nawab Sarfaraz Khan for the Zemindary of Pargana Rajshahi etc.

Ramkanta was the husband of famous Rani Bhowani of Rajshahi.

12. Bd. of Rev. O. C. 48 of 8 May 1787.

This paper shows that Ghoraghat was once the seat of Government before its removal to Dacca by Emperor Jahangir.

13. Bd. of Rev. O. C. 39, of 13 July 1787.

Translation of a Parwanah dated 25th of Showal in the 6th year of Jalus under the signature of Nawab Najmuddin Ali Khan Bahadur, Nazim of Bengal, bestowing Paraganah of Bhowal (in Dacca district) on Syed Mohammed Hossian Khan as a conditional military grant for maintaining two military units of 50 horsemen each at Sreepur and Sangramgarh.

14.	Bd. of Rev. O. C. 2 & 4 of 20 July 1787.	Original letter in Bengali with the seal of Musa Shah Fakir to one Dulal Choudhury, Naib to the Zemindar of Pargana Masidah.
15.	Rev. O. C. 28 of 12 May 1790.	This paper contains a brief account of the family of Mohammad Taqi Khan, Do-hazari, son of Faiz Ali Khan, Paymaster General of Bengal during the time of Nawab Alivardy Khan.
16.	Rev. O. C. 7 of 20 May 1791.	This paper contains a report regarding the death of Lutfunnesa Begum, wife of Nawab Serajuddowlah, and a representation from her grand-daughters for continuance of her pension to them.
17.	Judl. Dept. (Criminal) O. C. 6 of 23 May 1794.	Report from the Magistrate of Dacca-Jalalpur, regarding dacoities specially stealing of girls between the age of 11 or 12 years of age for the purpose of Chandipuja.
18.	Bd. of Rev. O. C. 60 of 19 December 1800.	This paper contains a complete list of Roy Royans i. e. the Peshkars of the Khalsa Sharifa who succeeded one after another to the Jagir of Pargana Patiladah, Pyraband, Sherhatta and Bangaon in Bengal from the year 1131 B. S. (1724) down to the time of Raja Rajballav.
19.	Bd. of Rev. O. C. 58 of 13 August 1813.	This paper shows that stamped palm-leaves were used for writing documents on them.
20.	O. C. No. 27 of 6 March 1828.	Holograph Minute dated 4 January 1828 of Lord Amherst declining to abolish Sati immediately.
21.	O. C. No. 10 of 4 December 1829.	Autograph Minute of Lord William Bentinck recommending abolition of Sati.
22.	Rev. O. C. 4 of 1 February 1834.	Governor-General (Lord William Bentinck's) Minute regarding the introduction and cultivation of Tea plant in India.

VERNACULAR RECORDS

23.	Persian Sunnud Register, Vol. 17, No. 797, page 2814.	Copy of a Farman dated 29th of Zulqad, 3rd year of Julus appointing Nawab Serajud-dowlah as Subahdar of Bengal & Orissa on the death Mohabat Jung (Nawab Ali Vardy Khan).
24.	Persian Sunnud Register, Vol. 15, No. 709, page 2545.	Copy of a Farman dated 7th Zil Hujj, 25th year of Julus, granting Rupees ten lacs as *Inam* to Nawab Ali Vardy Khan on account of expenses of his troops for defeating the Mahrattas who raided Bengal under Bhashkar.
25.		Original Qistbundi dated 1173 B. S. (1767) executed by Maharani Bhawani of Natore, Raj for her Zemindari. (This bears the Rani's own signature in Bengali).
26.		Original Qistbundi dated 1192 B. S. (1785) executed by Maharaja Dhiraj Tez Chandra Bahadur for pergana Burdwan etc. (bearing his signature in Bengali).
27.		Original Qabuliat dated 1192 B. S. (1785) executed by Raja Raj Singh for Pergana Susang (Mymensingh) with his Seal. (Ancestor of the Maharaja of Susahg).
28.		Original Patta dated 1191 B. S. (1784) in Persian and Bengali, granted by the order of the Governor-General in Council to Hari Narayan Talukdar for parganas Cherulia Madhudia. It bears the Seal of the East India Company as the Dewan of the province of Bengal.
29.	Chinsurah Records Dutch Patta No. 3 of Bundle No. 1.	Original Patta dated 1109 B. S. (1702) in Dutch and Bengali for a plot of land in Mouza Chinsurah, Bengal, granted in favour of Mahadeb Nandi and Gokul Nandi for a homestead.
30.	Chinsurah Records Patta No. 1375 of Bundle No. 3.	Original Patta dated 1202 B. S. (1795) in English and Bengali for a plot of land in Bazar Mirzapur granted in favour of Gangadhar

Sil by J. B. Birch under his signature and seal of English Zemindari Company of Chinsurah.

31. An original Sale-deed dated 1231 B. S. (1825) in Bengali executed by Roshan Gazi, son of Alam Gazi of Jaipara (in Dacca district) in favour of Sreemati Lasman Bibi for selling 6 annas 6 gandas 2 cowries and 2 krantis share of fourtheen male and female slaves mentioned in the document which he inherited through the maternal grand-father of his father for a sum of Rs. 32 only.

This document is written on a stamped paper and shows that even in 1825 slaves were treated as a part of landed property in Bengal.

IV. Exhibits from the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay

A. EPIGRAPHICAL.

(1) An ink estampage of an inscription or the reign of Naravarman of Malwa dated 474 V. E. (418 A. D.), recording the construction of a tank by Vīrasena for the use of the Buddist monks coming from all the quarters.

(2) An ink estampage of a Persian inscription recording the completion of the construction under the supervision of Santokhrai Mushrraf.

B. SCULPTURAL.

(1) A terracotta plaque depicting birth of Bodhisattva Gautama, from Mirpurkhas, 4th-5th centuries A. D.

(2) A terracotta plaque depicting a scene in the palace at Kapilavastu in the night just before the Renunciation of Bodhisattva Gautama; from Mirpurkhas, 4th-5th centuries A. D.

(3) A terracotta plaque bearing the figure of Buddha in Meditation. From Mirpurkhas, 4th-5th centuries A. D.

(4) A terractotta figure of Mother Goddess. From Mathurā. 2nd century A. D.

C. DOCUMENTARY.

(1) A Persian document dated the 29th Rajjab 1233 Hijri, recording the sale of a house at Dabhoi by one Iswardas Mayaram, son of Hariram, son of Sadaram Majumdar. Presented by Mr. J. M. Majumdar.

(2) A big scroll, being the original petition dated the 3rd January 1832 sent by the citizens of Bombay to the House of Commons protesting against the Act of Parliament for the relief of Insolvent Debtors in the East Indies which was then in operation in Bombay. It contains the autograph signatures of hundreds of well-known citizens of this city then living. (10 pieces).

(3) A photograph of a document in the Council of Bombay dated, London the 19th August 1724 with signatures of some important and historical personages.

D. NUMISMATICS.

Two plaster casts of a gold coin of Akbar issued from the Udaipur Mint.

Nine Delwara coins of copper (8 of Akbar with Ilahi Legend and one of Jahangir).

V. List of Documents from the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona

1. (a) A Farman of Aurangzeb's Period issued by his son Muazzam in 1076 A. H./1665 A. D. in favour of Sayyad Abdul Ghaffur and Muhammad Said, the Muazzins of the Pargana Nazarbar.

   (b) Back of the same Farman of Prince Muazzam with endorsements.

2. (a) An order issued during the period of Aurangzeb (?) to officers of the pargana Kalas Anad in the Khujasta Bunyad (Aurangabad) province in favour of Mehra Ji and Loko Ji.

   (b) The back of the same Farman with endorsements, etc.

3. (a) An order issued during the period of Muhammad Shah in name of the officers of the pargana Anmali in the Khandesh province in favour of Sheikh Badr-ud-Din Abdul Wahid.

   (b) Back of the same order with endorsements, etc.

4. (a) A Farman of Jahangir addressed to Shah Jahan in which Shah Jahan has been chastised for his misbehaviour and disobedience.

   (b) A Reply from Shah Jahan in verse justifying his position and apologising.

   (c) A letter addressed to the king of Golkunda by Shah Jahan in which a warning has been given to adopt Shah Jahani Law and Order. A reply from the king of Golkunda is a very taunting way.

5. A Farman of Ibrahim Adil Shah dated 943 A. H./1536 A. D. in favour of Korkhu Ji son of Ailo Ji of the pargana Khatano.

6. A Farman of Muhamad Adil Shah addressed to the officers of the pargana Aindapur confirming some grants issued in 1041 A. H./1631 A. D. in favour of Sambha Ji Bhonsala.
7. A Farman of Muhamad Adil Shah regarding the pargana Aindapur.

8. A Farman of Muhamad Adil Shah regarding pargana Aindapur dated 1052 A. H./1642 A. D.

9. A Farman of Muhammad Adil Shah regarding the pargana reserved as a source of Zakat etc. from the Queen.

10. A Farman of Adil Shahi kings regarding pargana Bai (wai) in Bijapur province.

VI. Exhibits from Jodhpur State

(1) Photograph of a letter relating to the bestowal by the Emperor of the title of Raj Rajeshwar upon the Maharaja.

(2) Photograph of a letter relating to the visit of the Emperor himself to the Maharaja's camp as well as of giving him the privilege of standing on the masnad where none had paced till then.

(3) Photograph of a letter relating to the help rendered to Maharaja Jaisinghji of Jaipur.

VII. Exhibits from Patna State

1. Copper plate grants :—

   Belonging to the Guptas or Somavamsi

   Kings of Kosala ..... 4 sets (each containing three plates).

2. Photographs of gold coins found near the village Kirabahal, Police Station Loisingha 3

3. Copper coins :—

   I. Bull & Horseman type 7

   II. Bull & Horseman type 7

   Legend –

   Reverse – Suritana Shree Atachina

   Reverse – Sri Hamira.

   III. Chauhan Bull and Horseman.

   Legend – Samanta... 1

   IV. Mediaeval dynasty of N. India ... 2

4. 1872.

   A letter from Swasti Sri Maharajadhiraja Sri Maharaja Sri 7 Surapratap Deo Sri Maharaja – Killa Patna – Hal Sambalpur to Pt. Chintamony Nand.

   Top – Chakra and initialed in Urdu.

   The bill of maintenance sent herewith. You please see the Sahib and try to send the money soon.

5. Samvat 1930 i. e. 1873 A. D. A letter from the Maharajadhiraja Kumari Sri 5 Patna Pata Maha Dei to Pt. Chintamony Nand Vidyabhusan.

   Subject – Chakra at the head.

   To return Ukil Nrusingha Tripathy soon with his advice so that he may accompany him to Sambalpur after.

6. 20th May 1877.

A letter from (name illegible), Inspector General of Education C. P. and Curator Government Museum. Requesting Pt. Nand to send some quartz crystals from Patna State to the Museum as the samples collected by Mr. Ball, the Geological Surveyor, have been sent to Calcutta for examination.

7. 23-11-1895.

A letter from Swasti Sri Prataparudra Deba, Feudatory Chief, Sonepur.

Signature Seal with Chakra

in English – Eng – Raja of Sonepur.

P. R. S. D.

Subject:—Requesting him to appear before the Treasury Officer, Sambalpur on 5-12-1895.

8. Dt. 14-1-1899.

From Mr. Chapman, P. A. to Mr. Nand conveying Colonel Bowie's warm appreciation and enquiry about Pt. Nand's health.

9. 1900.

A letter from Mr. F. G. Sly to Anirudha Nand conveying condolence at the death of Pt. Bidyabhusan and conveying his appreciation of Oriyas and promising to help any deserving Oriya.

10. Feb. 19th (probably 1917).

A letter from F. G. Sly, Governor of C. P. to Anirudha Nand conveying his remembrance of Pt. Nand's help to him in his early years service.

VIII. Exhibits from the Shardashram, Yeotmal, through Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, Yeotmal, Berar

A. Stone and copper Inscription

1. An impression of the inscription in Prakrit found at Kayar in Berar. It is in Brahmi characters of the 2nd or 3rd century A. D. It is an aphorism of the Jain religion.

2. An impression of the copper plate grant of Vindhyashakti Vakataka of the 4th century A. D. It was found at Basim in Berar. It is partly in Sanskrit and mostly in Maharashtri of the time.

3. Impressions of the stone inscriptions of the 5th or 6th century A. D. from the temples at Markanda in C. P.

4. An impression of the stone inscription of the 11th century A. D. at Dongargaon in Berar belonging to Jagaddeo Paramara of Dhara in Sanskrit.

5. An impression of the stone inscription of the 11th century A. D. at Jayanada in the Nizam's State from the temple of the Sun god. It describes the construction of the temple by Padmavati.

6. An impression of an inscription in Marathi in the temple at Markanda in C. P. It belongs to Kanhardeo Yadao of Deogiri and is approximately dated in 1255 A. D.

7. An impression of a stone inscription in the Dhadranag temple at Bhandak in C. P. It is in Marathi of the 12th century A. D.

8. An impression of the stone inscription at the cave temple at Patur in Berar. It is in Brahmi characters of the 6th or 7th century A. D.

9. An impression of the stone inscription in Sanskrit on the pedestal of a Jain statue found at Ritpur in Berar. The statue was installed in 1702 A. D. in the reign of Aurangzeb.

10. An impression of the stone inscriptions on the pedestals of Jain statues found at Mehekar in Berar and Mahury in the Nizam's State. They belong to the 12th century A. D.

11. An impression of the copper plates unearthed at Sirso in Berar. It belongs to Govind III Rashtrakuta of the 9th century A. D.

12. An impression of the copper plates found at Khamkhed in Berar. It records a grant by one Pratapsila in the 8th century A. D.

B. Antiquarian finds

13. Photos of the seals found at Mahurzari in C. P. The seals belong to the Gupta period i. e. the 4th century A. D.

14. Photos of the temples at Markanda in C. P. The inscriptions show that the temples are earlier than the 5th century A. D. General Cuningham remarks that the architecture and the statues therein are superior to those at Khajuraho temple.

15. Photos of Shri Ramapanchayatan on one stone unearthed at Mana in Berar. The statue is on black stone while the tilaka and kunkum are in red as a part of the statue.

16. Photos of the gold coin of Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty, found at Seoni in C. P.

C. Documents of the Mughal period

17. Wasalata (Revenue statement) in 1536 A. D. giving the income of the villages in the jaghir of one Kamruddin Khan in Berar.

18. Wasalata in 1538 A. D. giving the income of the villages in the jaghir of Raja Pahadsingh in perganah Darwha in Berar.

19. Dharmapatra (grant) in 1540 A. D. to one Nag Thakur of Darwha in Berar in Modi.

20. Shasanapatra (grant) to one Sabha pandit of Talegaon in Berar in 1615 A. D. by one Raje Hanmant rao Supekar.

21. A copy of the order by Aurangzeb in 1672 A. D. about the share in watan between Abdul Rasul and his Hindu brother Krishnaji Rane, Deshmukhs of Darwha in Berar.

22. Ek harphi (revenue statement) of perganah Papal in Berar in 1681 A. E. in the reign of Aurangzeb.

23. Ek harphi of perganah Ner Parsopant in Berar in 1698 A. D. in the reign of Aurangzeb in Modi.

24. Ek harphi of Darwha perganah in Berar in Persian in 1686 A. D. Each page bears the seal of Aurangzeb.

25. Khareeta (royal letter) issued by Daulatrao Sindia on behalf of the Peshwa as wakeel-i-mutalik of the Emperor of Delhi to one Deokate sardar of Sendursani in the Nizam's State. It bears the royal seal in lack.

26. A sanad issued by Aurangzeb in 1696 A. D. with respect to the partition of watan between Abdul Nabi and Lalji Rane, the Mahomedan and Hindu cousins of Darwha in Berar.

D. The Nizams of Hyderabad

27. A sanad issued by Chinkilich Khan, father of the founder of the Nizam's State to one Sadawarti pandit of Talegaon in Berar.

28. A sanad issued by Nizam Ali Bahadur in the reign of Emperor Shaha Alam to a mahant of the Mahanubhao sect.

29. A private letter mentioning that the army of Nizamuddin Khan Bahadur reached Udgir, the famous battle field in the Deccan.

30. A sanad issued by Rajah Chandulal the famous divan of the Nizams in 1837 A. D.

31. A letter of a kamavisdar of Ner perganah in Berar throwing light on the system of collection of land revenue in the early administration by the Nizams.

32. A Persian manuscript containing Gulistan, Bostan and divan of the first Nizam. It was written by a Kayastha in the regime of Nabab Namdar Khan subah of Berar. It is valuable for its caligraphy.

E. The Marathas and the Rajas of Satara

33. A copy of the Surat Majlis (an award of the Panchas) in 1710 A. D. settling the dispute about the shares amongst the descendants of Lukhji Jadhao of Sindkhed, maternal grand-father of great Shivaji.

34. A sanad issued by Shahu Maharaj of Satara in 1708 A. D. to one Deokate Sardar of Sendursani in the Nizam's State.

35. Another sanad of the same king to the same family in 1723 A. D. It bears the seal of Shahu Maharaj, Bajirao Ballal Peshwa and Shrinivas rao Pant Pratinidhi.

36. An order by Shahu Maharaj to Kanhuji Bhosla of Bhamb in Berar in 1728 A. D. not to molest the Deokate sardar.

37. An order by Shahu Maharaj to his general Sultanji Nimbalkar in 1728 A. D.

38. An order by Shahu Maharaj to Kanhuji Bhosla in 1732 A. D. to continue the mukasas of the Deokate family.

39. A list of Darbar expenses and najrana required to be paid to the king, queen, courtiers and even to the huzras and dasis in the palace. The list is dated in 1743 A. D. in the reign of Shahu Maharaj.

40. A letter from Poona to Deokate sardar informing him about the movements of Tarabai widow of Rajaram Maharaj and other ladies of the royal family at Satara.

41. A letter from Balaji Bajirao Peshwa to one Abaji Govind Gadre, the famous banker of the Peshwas in 1755 A. D. farming some perganas in satisfaction of debt.

42. A letter from one Venkaji to Deokate sardar from Poona about the settlement of accounts of Malharrao Holkar, Madhoji Sindia, and other sardars and also informing that the peshwa Balaji Bajirao was going to the Konkan.

43 An order from Chimnaji Sadashio Sachiv, minister of the Peshwa in 1751 A. D. for paying six percent of particular revenue.

44. A letter from Visaji Krishna Biniwale, a general of the Peshwa to the Deokate sardar.

45. An order from the same general to the Deokate sardar to pay the darbar expenses and to be present in the army with his forces.

46. A letter from Chinto Ram Wakil to Deokate sardar informing him about the order of the Peshwa Balaji Bajirao, to sardars to mobilize their forces at Ahmednagar in 1760 A. D. for sending the army in the North before the battle of Panipat.

47. A letter from Chinto Ram Wakil to Deokate sardar from Rakshasbhuwan, the camp of Balaji Bajirao Peshwa in 1760 A. D. informing him about the 2nd marriage of the Peshwa with a Deshastha girl of nine years from Paithan.

48. Slips of accounts of the army of Vithal Sheodeo Vinchurkar, general of the Peshwa. It includes the item of expenses for attacking the fort of the Mughals by Raghunathrao Peshwa.

49. A news letter (Holkaranchi thaili) by Malharrao Holkar to the Peshwa giving the details of the battle of Panipat. The copy had been written in 1801 A. D., forty years after the battle.

50. An administrative bond issued by one Raja Sheoji Keshao Bahadur borrowing a lac of rupees and farming out perganah of Chincholi in satisfaction of the debt. The interest mentioned in the bond is rupees 2 percent per month.

51. An order by Madhorao Ballal Peshwa to the Deokate sardar scolding him for being late in the campaign in Karnatik and for paying an amount in about 1769 A. D.

52. An order by Madhorao Ballal to Janoji Bhosla Raja of Nagpur to continue the mukasas to Deokate sardar.

53. A letter from Baburao Sadashio Sachiv to one Raghunathrao Pingle about a dispute between Deokate sardar and Raja Udara descendant of the well-known Rai, bagun in the matter of Deshmukh watan of Hingoli in the Nizam's State.

54. A copy of order of Tukojirao Holkar in the matter of dispute about the mahanubhawas.

55. A private letter of one Ranoji Sate about the time of the campaign against Hyder Ali of Mysore. It records the meeting of Mahadji Sindia, Tukoji Holkar and Haripant Phadke with Nana Phadnavis, Moroba Dada and Sakharam Bapu.

56. A letter by Govindrao Sindia to sardar Deokate. It refers to the campaign against Hyder Ali and the Poona politics, in which Moroba Dada and Tukoji Holkar were on one side and Sindia, Phadke, and Raghoba Dada on the side of Nana Phadnavis.

57. Khareeta (royal order) by Madho Narayan alias Sawai Madhorao Peshwa to the Nizam about the saranjam of Deokate sardar. The Khareeta bears the lac seal of the peshwa.

F. Rajas of Nagpur

58. A letter by Kanhuji Bhosla of Bhamb in Berar to the Brahmins of Talegaon Dasasar assuring that his army would not molest them and that they should be without anxiety. It is dated in 1731 A. D.

59. A letter by Raghuji Bhosla II recording an award over a dispute about meherki (leadership) of the Sutars (carpentars) of Patur Sheikh Babu in Berar in 1792 A. D.

60. A private letter from the peshwa's camp recording the attempts of reconciliation between the peshwa and the rajah of Nagpur over a dispute about some mukasas. No date given.

61. An order of Januji Bhosla making a grant to one Govind Bhat Joshi of Akot in Berar in 1753 A. D.

62. An order of Januji Bhosla about the mukasas of the Deokate family in 1756 A. D.

63. An order by Janoji Bhosla to Piraji Naik Nimbalkar about the jaghir of Manaji Deokate in 1756 A. D.

64. A letter by Venkoba Naik Pidadi a famous banker of Chanda in C. P. to one Ramaji Kale, equally famous banker of Karanjia in Berar. It records the movements of the armies of Chimnaji Bapu Bhosla of Nagpur and general Ganpatrao Subhedar in the reign of Raghuji II in about 1803 A. D.

65. A letter by Raghuji II, Rajah of Nagpur, making grant to one Rodbhat of Kholapur in Berar in 1826 A. D. The sanad bears the endorsement and signature of Jenkinson, the then political agent of Nagpur.

66. Sanads issued by Sabaji Bhosla from Darwha to Ghate family of Talegaon Dasasar.

G. Coin cabinet

The cabinet contains the coins of the Sassanian kings, those of the Bahamani kings, the Mughal emperors and the Nizams. They are about 30 in number.

IX. Exhibits from Travancore State

I. Tray of Travancore Coins containing

1.	Thulabhara kasu – gold	2
2.	do. ½ do.	2
3.	do. ¼ do.	2
4.	Travancore Pagoda (Varahan)	2
5.	do. (½ Varahan)	2
6,	Travancore sovereign	1
7.	Travancore half sovereign	1
8.	Ramanathapuram chali – Debased gold	2
9.	Virarayan Panam do.	2
10.	Kali Panam do.	2
11.	Rasi Panam do.	2
12.	Madura Kali Panam do.	2
13.	Chinna Panam do.	2
14.	Anantharaman Panam do.	2
15.	Old one chuckram – silver	2
16.	Old two chuckrams (½ fanam) silver	2
17.	do. do.	2
18.	Cochin Ottaputhan – silver	2
19.	Current ½ Rupee do.	2
20.	do. ¼ Rupee do.	2

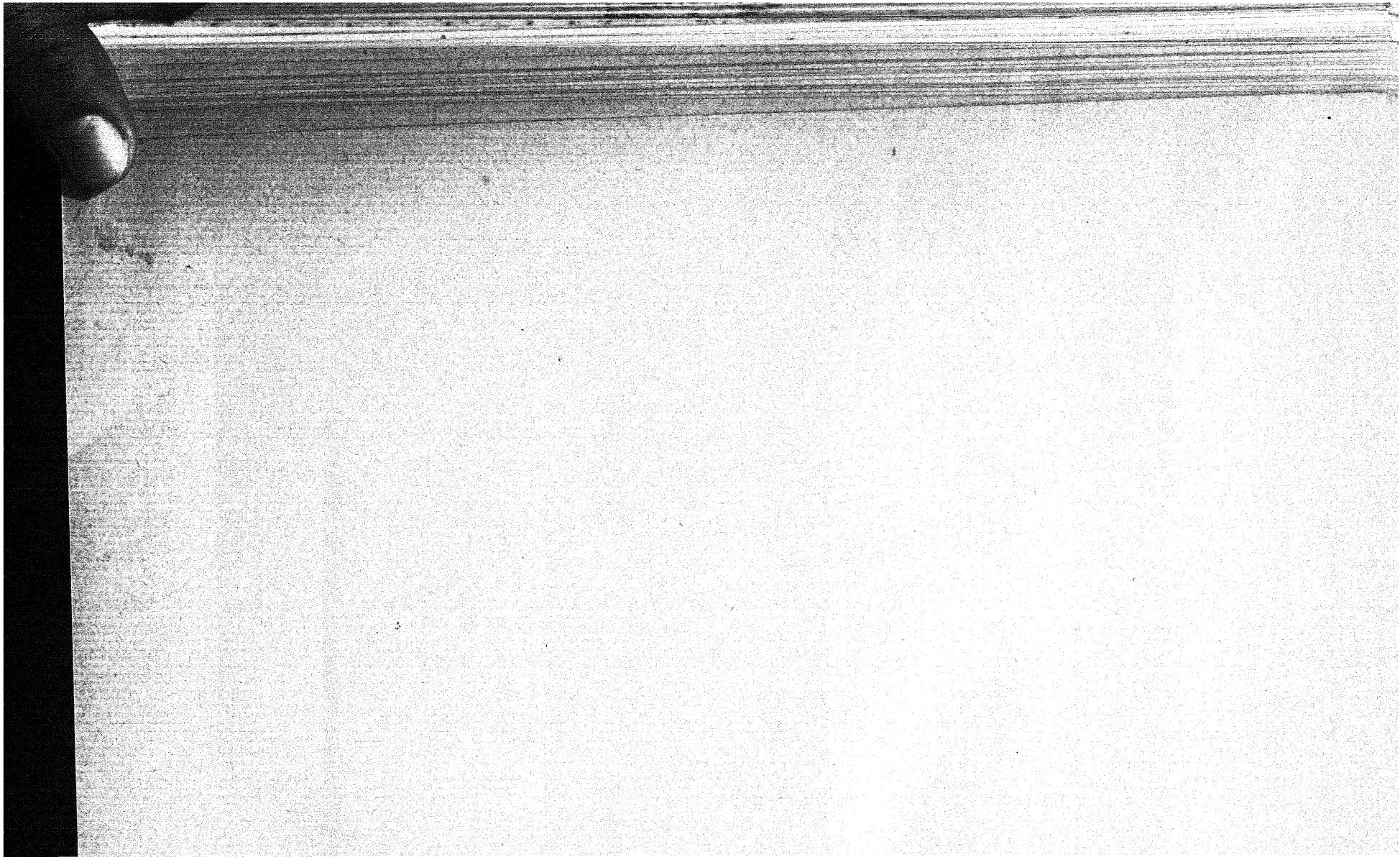
21.	Current one fanam – silver	...	...	...	2
22.	Chinna chuckram do.	...	...	...	2
23.	Old cash – copper	...	...	...	2
24.	Ancient cash do.	...	...	...	2
25.	Ancient cash do.	...	...	...	2
26.	Current chuckram do.	...	...	...	2
27.	Current half chuckram do.	...	...	...	2
28.	Current ¼ chuckram do.	...	...	...	2
29.	Current cash do.	...	...	...	2

II. BRONZES FROM THE MEENAKSHI COLLECTION

1.	Kaliyamardanam – large	...	...	...	1
2.	do. small	...	...	...	1
3.	Naga handle ...	...	...	...	1
4.	Ganesa and snake	...	...	...	1
5.	Sarpam handle ...	...	...	...	1
6.	Chakram handle ...	...	...	...	1
7.	Lotus bud do. ...	...	...	...	1
8.	Bell with Hanuman handle	...	...	...	1
9.	Image of Dancer – Paravanachyar		...	...	1
10.	Sayana Budha ...	...	...	...	1
11.	Jaina Thirthankara	...	...	...	1
12.	Handles for bells	...	...	...	2
13.	Valampuri Ganesa	...	...	...	1
14.	Image of Ramadas	...	...	...	1

III. Defeat of the Dutch at Kulachel – copy of a mural painting 17th century – Travancore Archæological Department.

IV. An unpublished Dutch Record of the Kollam year 838.



HISTORICAL & ETHNOGRAPHICAL PAINTINGS FROM THE BARODA STATE MUSEUM.

By E. F. SASS BRUNNER.

1. Sahasralinga Reservoir excavation at Patan.
2. Navalakhi Vav (L. V. P.) Baroda.
3. Dwarkadhish Temple (Dwarka).
4. Rukmini Temple (Dwarka).
5. Damajirao's Chhatri (Patan).

By ELIZABETH BRUNNER.

6. Vanaraja Chavada (Patan).
7. Rabaris (Patan).
8. Rabari women (Patan).
9. Kunbi girl (Amreli).
10. An old Vagher (Dwarka).

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF EXHIBITS

FROM

THE BARODA STATE

Seventeenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Baroda in 1940

BARODA STATE PRESS

1940

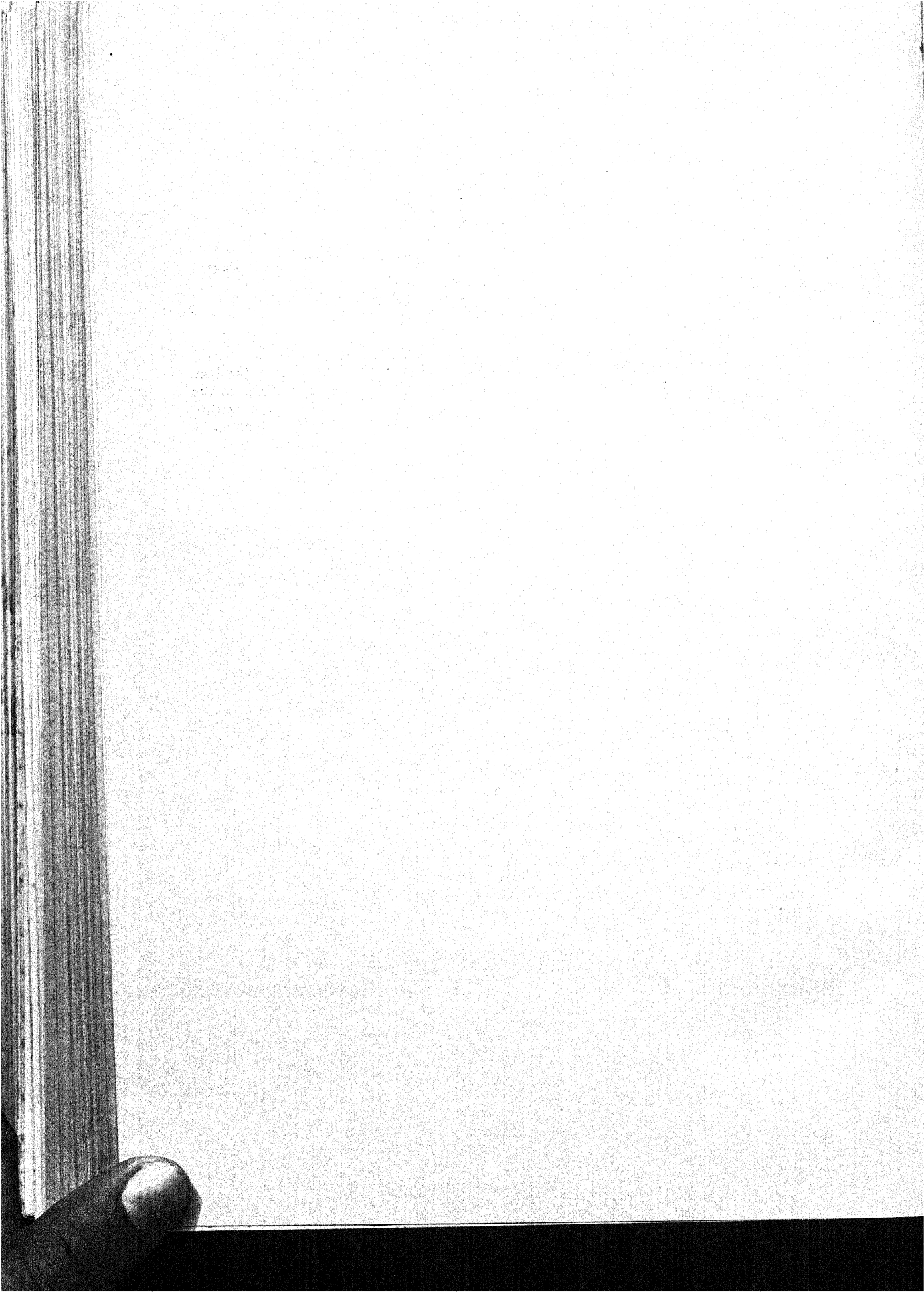


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A.	Additional Exhibits from the State Records Department, Baroda.	1
B.	Exhibits from the Oriental Institute, Baroda.	2
C.	Historical and Ethnographical Paintings in the Baroda State Museum painted by Mrs. and Miss Brunner.	See the last page of the main catalogue.

A. Additional Exhibits from the State Records Department, Baroda.

I Treaties etc.

(1) Summary re: the partition of Gujarat prepared in 1768 A. D. by Haripant Phadke. (Copy obtained from the Poona records in 1811 A. D.).

(2) Treaty between Sayajirao Gaekwad I and the Peshwa, dated 1773 A. D.

(3) Peshwa's lease to the Gaekwad of the farm of Ahmedabad for the five years from 1799 to 1804 A. D.

(4) Treaty concluded by Maharaja Anandrao Gaekwar for the maintenance of a British subsidiary force, dated 6th June 1802.

(5) Maharaja Anandrao's confirmation of the Treaty of 6th June 1802.

(6) Definitive treaty of general defensive alliance concluded by Maharaja Anandrao Gaekwar, dated 21st April 1805.

(7) Supplement to the definitive Treaty concluded by Maharaja Anandrao Gaekwar, dated 6th November 1817.

(8) Supplementary treaty of 1818 A. D. between Maharaja Anandrao and the East India Company.

(9) Peshwa's perpetual lease to the Gaekwad of the farm of Ahmedabad dated 1817.

(10) Adoption sanad granted to His Highness the late Maharaja Khanderao Gaekwad, dated 11th March 1862.

(11) Yadi (Memorandum) dated 26th May 1865 from the Baroda Residency stating that the ports of the Baroda State will be treated in the same way as British Indian ports.

II Khareetas

(1) Letter dated 1st May 1838 from H. E. Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay, to His Highness Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwar (II),

thanking His Highness for his assistance and co-operation in carrying out the project of the Karamsad drain.

(2) Lord Ellenborough's letter about the restoration of the gates of the Somnath temple.

(3) Letter dated 16th April 1852 from H. E. Lord Falkland, Governor of Bombay to His Highness Maharaja Ganpatrao Gaekwar thanking His Highness for the steps taken to prevent adulteration of cotton.

III Miscellaneous Exhibits

(1) 10 typical letters from the Baroda Historical Selections.

(2) 5 typical mahal accounts.

B. Exhibits from the Oriental Institute, Baroda.

(1) Acc. No. 6822 *Padmanābhodaya.*

In 4 paddhatis it describes the reason of the foundation of the Padmanābha temple at Trivendrum and gives a history of the founder.

In Grantha script.

(2) „ 9386 (a) *Śāhurājakīrtiprathāmañjarī.*

Describes the life of Raja Śahu and his queen. 1st canto only.

(3) „ 6157, 6165, 6199 *Rāmavarmavijayachampū.*

A short history of Rama Varma, Ruler of Travancore. (18th C.) Gr. Script.

(4) „ 5761 *Jahāngīrcharitra.*

(Only some fragments). Nāgarī script.

(5) „ 9386 (b) *Śivājīcharita.*

Describes some events related to Raja Śahu, the grandson of Śivaji. Nāgarī script.

(6) „ 2486 *Bhatiya-ki-Kulaparamparā.*

A genealogy of the Bhatiya-vaṁśa in Hindi.

(7) Acc. No. 4370 *Bhālana-vaṁśavarṇanam.*

A praśasti Kāvya on the Bhālana dynasty, whose members were the ministers of Gurjara kings. Nāgarī script.

(8) „ 5653 *Bhāskaravilāsa.*

Describes the life and career of Bhāskararāya, the teacher of Jagannātha. Nāgarī script. H. Ms.

(9) „ 12795 *Rājavamśāvali.*

A genealogy of rulers of Kumachala beginning from Ānanda Chandra. Nāgarī script.

(10) „ 8899 *Nṛipodanta.*

In verse. A brief history of India from Alexander the Great to the British period. Nāgarī script.